THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, ABRIDGED FROM HUME.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE ABRIDGEMENT OF MR. GIBBON's ROMAN HISTORY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ELIZABETH.

CHAP. XII.

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A. D. 1558. THE prudence that Elizabeth had diſcovered during the reign of her ſiſter, rendered her acceſſion the ſubject of general joy; in her progreſs from Hatfield to London, crowds of people ſtrove to give her the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of their affection. With a mag-

nanimity truly laudable ſhe buried all offences in oblivion; yet the reception ſhe gave was not proſtitute and undiſtinguiſhing. When the biſhops came to make their obeiſance to her, ſhe turned aſide from Bonner as from a man polluted with blood, who was a juſt object of horror to every heart ſuſceptible of humanity.

In notifying her acceſſion to Phillip, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude for the protection he had afforded her: that monarch, who hoped by her means to obtain the dominion over England, of which he had failed in eſpouſing Mary, immediately made propoſals of marriage to her: and Elizabeth, though determined to decline the offer, gave him ſuch an anſwer that he ſtill retained hopes of ſucceſs.

The firſt object of the queen was to reſtore the proteſtant religion, which her education had led her to favour. By the advice of Sir William Cecil, whom ſhe had created ſecretary of ſtate, ſhe proceeded by gradual and ſecure ſteps. To give encouragement to the reformed, ſhe recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the priſoners, who were confined on account of religion. She ordered the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the goſpels to be read in Engliſh; and having publiſhed an injunction that all the churches ſhould conform to the practice of her own chapel, ſhe forbade the hoſte to be any more elevated in her preſence.

Her addreſs and affability ſoon acquired her the affections of her ſubjects, and unwilling to offend them by any uſeleſs or violent exertion of power, ſhe delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The elections had gone entirely againſt the catholics, who ſeem not indeed to have made any great ſtruggle for the ſuperiority; and the houſes met, in a diſpoſition of gratifying the queen in every particular which ſhe could deſire of them. They began the ſeſſion with an unanimous declaration, "that queen "Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the

"word

"word of God, as the common and ſtatute laws of "the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir "to the crown, lawfully deſcended from the blood-"royal, according to the order of ſucceſſion ſettled "in the 35th of Henry VIII." This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herſelf and her miniſters; and ſhe ſhewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which ſhe employed on that occaſion. She followed not Mary's practice, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expreſsly repealing the act formerly made againſt her own legitimacy: ſhe knew that this attempt muſt be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceaſed ſiſter; and as all the world was ſenſible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his uſual violence and caprice, ſhe ſcorned to found her title on any act of an aſſembly which had too much proſtituted its authority by its former variable, ſervile, and iniquitous deciſions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted the leſs anxiety ſhe diſcovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries, ſhe took poſſeſſion of the throne, both as her birthright, and as enſured to her by former acts of parliament, and ſhe never appeared anxious to diſtinguiſh theſe titles.

The firſt bill brought into parliament was for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and for reſtoring the tenths and firſt fruits to the queen; this point being gained, a bill was next paſſed for annexing the ſupremacy to the crown. Whoever refuſed to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's ſupremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the ſupremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the firſt offence, all his goods and chattels; for the ſecond, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treaſon. Theſe

puniſhments, however ſevere, were leſs vigorous than thoſe which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like caſes.

A law was paſſed, confirming all the ſtatutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion: the nomination of biſhops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any ſee, to ſeize all the temporalities, and to beſtow on the biſhop-elect an equivalent on the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidſt all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the eccleſiaſtical revenues.

A ſolemn and public diſputation was held during this ſeſſion; the champions appointed to defend the religion of the ſovereign, were, as in all former inſtances, entirely triumphant; and the popiſh diſputants, being pronounced refractory and obſtinate, were even puniſhed by impriſonment. Emboldened by this victory, the proteſtants ventured on the laſt and moſt important ſtep, and brought into parliament a bill for aboliſhing the maſs, and re-eſtabliſhing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well againſt thoſe who departed from this mode of worſhip, as againſt thoſe who abſented themſelves from the church and the ſacraments. And thus, in one ſeſſion, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole ſyſtem of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whoſe title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event which, though it may appear ſurpriſing to men in the preſent age, was every were expected on the firſt intelligence of Elizabeth's acceſſion.

The commons alſo made a ſacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than of any articles of faith: they voted a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound

pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths; yet their reſpectful addreſs to her to fix on a huſband met with a refuſal. Elizabeth told the ſpeaker, that even while ſhe was a private perſon, and expoſed to much danger, ſhe had always declined that engagement, which ſhe regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at preſent, would ſhe perſevere in this ſentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the intereſts of religion and the happineſs of her ſubjects: that as England was her huſband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here ſhe ſhewed her finger with the ſame gold ring upon it, with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration), ſo all Engliſhmen were her children; and while ſhe was employed in rearing or governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not deem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs and unprofitable: that if ſhe ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her ſubjects welfare would ſtill be uppermoſt in her thoughts; but ſhould ſhe live and die a virgin, ſhe doubted not but divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign, who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example in loving and cheriſhing her people: and that, for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

After the prorogation of the parliament, the liturgy was again introduced into the vulgar tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. All the biſhops, except the biſhop of Landaffe, refuſed compliance, A. D. 1559.

and were degraded from their ſees: but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there were near 10,000 pariſhes, only eighty rectors, and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans ſacrificed their livings to their religious principles.

While the queen and parliament were ſettling the national religion, negotiations for peace were conducted between the miniſters of France, Spain, and England. As long as Philip entertained hopes of eſpouſing the queen, he employed his utmoſt efforts to procure the reſtitution of Calais; and even when thoſe hopes were no more, though all his own terms were ſettled, he offered to continue the war until ſhe ſhould obtain ſatisfaction, provided ſhe would ſtipulate to adhere to the Spaniſh alliance during the courſe of ſix years. But Elizabeth wiſely rejected this propoſal; ſhe was ſenſible that nothing but tranquillity would reſtore her kingdom to a flouriſhing condition; and to conclude a peace, it was at laſt agreed that Henry ſhould reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in caſe of failure, he ſhould pay five hundred thouſand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais ſtill remain; that he ſhould find the ſecurity of ſeven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this ſum; that he ſhould deliver five hoſtages till that ſecurity were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, ſhe ſhould forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he ſhould be obliged immediately to reſtore that fortreſs. All men of peneration eaſily ſaw that theſe ſtipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen on account of the neceſſity of her affairs; and they even extoiled her prudence, in ſubmitting, without farther ſtruggle, to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland was a neceſſary conſequence of that with France.

Yet

Yet though peace was concluded between France and England, there ſoon appeared a ground of quarrel of a moſt ſerious nature. Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, had been contracted in direct oppoſition to the See of Rome; and was regarded by the zealous catholics as invalid: if Elizabeth was illegitimate, the next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin. By the perſuaſion of the duke of Guiſe, the king of France ordered his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter theſe arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the Engliſh ambaſſador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evaſive anſwer; that as the queen of Scots was deſcended from the blood royal of England, ſhe was entitled, by the example of many princes, to aſſume the arms of that kingdom. But beſides that this practice had never prevailed without permiſſion being firſt obtained, and without making a viſible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly ſaw, that this pretenſion had not been advanced during the reign of her ſiſter Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the firſt opportunity, to diſpute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, ſhe thenceforth conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as poſſible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The ſudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the eſpouſals of his ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his ſucceſſor, Francis II. ſtill continued to aſſume, without reſerve, the title of king of England, ſhe began to conſider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the preſent ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own ſafety.

The murder of the cardinal primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottiſh catholics of a head, whoſe courage and capacity had rendered him formidable to the catholics; and the execution of the laws againſt hereſy became more remiſs. The queen regent was not diſpoſed to ſacrifice the civil intereſts of the ſtate to the bigotry of the clergy, and connived at doctrines which ſhe could not repreſs. Some heads of the reformers in Scotland alarmed at the ſeverities practiſed by Mary in England, had entered into a bond, and called themſelves the CONGREGATION of the Lord; they were encouraged, by the deteſtation which the people in general ſhewed to the execution of Walter Miles, one of the reformed, and by the acceſſion of Elizabeth, to openly ſolicit ſubſcriptions to their league. They preſented a petition to the regent, craving reformation of the church; and as the regent aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her ſon-in-law, the dauphin, ſhe temporized between the two parties.

But after this conceſſion was obtained, ſhe proceeded with more rigour againſt the proteſtants; and ſentence was paſſed againſt ſome of their moſt eminent teachers as rebels. In this critical time John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had paſſed ſome years in baniſhment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the higheſt fanaticiſm of his ſect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the preſent ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his uſual vehemence againſt the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmoſt zeal for its ſubverſion. A prieſt was ſo imprudent after this ſermon, as to open his repoſitory of images and reliques, and prepare himſelf to ſay maſs. The audience, exalted to a diſpoſition for any furious enterpriſe, were as much enraged as if the ſpectacle had not been quite familiar

to

to them: they attacked the prieſt with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes; and left no implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monaſteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an inſtant: the Carthuſians underwent the ſame fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of theſe edifices were left ſtanding. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife ſoon after imitated the example.

The queen-regent, provoked at theſe violences, aſſembled an army, and the congregation on the other hand made preparations of defence; their numbers were ſo formidable, that the regent deemed it prudent to embrace the counſels of the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, who, though inclined to the doctrines of the reformed, had adhered to the royal cauſe, and to conſent to an accommodation; ſhe was received into Perth, on promiſing an indemnity for paſt offences, and engaging not to leave a French garriſon in the place: but theſe terms the regent was accuſed of infringing; and the congregation enraged at her want of ſincerity, framed a new covenant, which was ſubſcribed by Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrews. The reformers delivering themſelves up to the furious zeal of Knox, plundered the churches; beſieged and took Perth, and were admitted into Edinburgh.

The regent had taken ſhelter from this ſtorm in Dunbar, whence ſhe employed her partiſans in repreſenting to the people the dangerous conſequences of this open rebellion; and ſhe endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the ſcheme of wreſting the

ſceptre

ſceptre from the hands of the ſovereign. By theſe conſiderations many were engaged to deſert the army of the Congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of ſubſiſtence; and the regent, obſerving the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a deſign of ſuppreſſing them. On the interpoſition of the duke of Chatelrault, who ſtill adhered to her, ſhe agreed to a capitulation, in which ſhe granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publiſh only the articles favourable to themſelves, and they were guilty of an impoſture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry ſhould not again be erected in any place where it was at that time ſuppreſſed.

An agreement concluded while men were in this diſpoſition, was not likely to be durable: the regent had received a reinforcement from France; and the congregation, which had been joined by the duke of Chatelrault, was not ignorant of her intention to cruſh them. Conſcious that their ſafety conſiſted in deciſive meaſures, they paſſed an act depriving the queen dowager of the regency; but their tumultuous armies were incapable of reſiſting the veteran troops of France, and they diſpatched two of their leaders to ſolicit ſuccours from Elizabeth.

That princeſs convinced of the danger that muſt ariſe from the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, prepared to ſupport the Congregation. She equipped a fleet, which conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, ſhe ſent it to the Frith of Forth: ſhe appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and ſhe aſſembled at Berwic an army of eight thouſand men under the command of lord Grey, warden of the eaſt and middle marches. Though the court of France, ſenſible of the danger, offered her

her to make immediate reſtitution of Calais, provided ſhe ſhould not interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland; ſhe reſolutely replied, that ſhe never would put an inconſiderable fiſhing-town in competition with the ſafety of her dominions; and ſhe ſtill continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to laſt during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and ſhe promiſed never to deſiſt till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. And having thus taken all proper meaſures for ſucceſs, and received from the Scots ſix hoſtages for the performance of articles, ſhe ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

The appearance of Elizabeth's fleet changed the tide of war; the French retired to, and were beſieged in Leith; A. D. 1560. the death of the queen regent, who expired about this time in the caſtle of Edinburgh, augmented their diſtreſs. The biſhop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had ſent thither for that purpoſe. It was there ſtipulated, that the French ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom; that farther ſatisfactions for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and the commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain ſhould be umpire between the crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould enjoy any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons of whom the queen of Scots ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the ſtates five, and in the hands of theſe twelve ſhould the whole adminiſtration

miniſtration be placed during their queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of the ſtates. In order to haſten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth ſent ſhips, by which the French forces were tranſported into their own country.

The ſubſequent meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers tended ſtill more to cement their union with England. The parliament voted a law for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland, and eſtabliſhing the Preſbyterian form of diſcipline; the refuſal of Mary to ſanction theſe ſtatutes was little regarded. The ſeverity with which the Proteſtants were treated in France, had excited diſcontents in that kingdom; the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the Admiral Coligni, had profeſſed themſelves attached to the new communion; a civil war was kindled, when the death of Francis, a prince of a ſickly conſtitution, changed the face of affairs, and diminiſhed the influence of the houſe of Guiſe.

A. D. 1561. Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of theſe events; ſhe required the queen of Scots to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; but, though Mary had deſiſted, after her huſband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, ſhe ſtill declined making any formal renunciation of her pretenſions; finding her abode in France diſagreeable from the jealouſy of Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, ſhe had applied to Elizabeth for a ſafe conduct in caſe ſhe ſhould be obliged to paſs through England, in her way to her native country. The anſwer that ſhe could expect no favour, until ſhe had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, excited her open indignation. "*Tell Elizabeth*, ſaid ſhe to the ambaſſador, *I can return to my own country without her leave, as I came to France in ſpite of all the oppoſition of her brother king Edward.*" Though ſhe was informed that Elizabeth had equipped a fleet, on pretence of purſuing pirates, but probably to intercept her, ſhe embarked

embarked at Calais, paſſed the Engliſh fleet in a fog, and arrived ſafely at Leith; her firſt appearance prepoſſeſſed her ſubjects in her favour; ſhe had reached her nineteenth year, and the bloom of her youth and the beauty of her perſon, were recommended by the affability of her addreſs, the politeneſs of her manners, and the elegance of her genius; yet one circumſtance blaſted every thing; and though Mary gave her entire confidence to the leaders of the reformed party, ſhe was ſtill a papiſt. It was with difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion for ſaying maſs in her own chapel; the preachers took a pride in vilifying her even to her face; and John Knox, the ringleader in all theſe inſults on majeſty, and who triumphed in the contumelious uſage of his ſovereign, generally deſcribed her by the appellation of Jezabel.

The queen of Scots, deſtitute of all force, poſſeſſing a narrow revenue, ſurrounded with a turbulent nobility, and a bigotted people, ſoon found her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity, was to preſerve a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. She offered to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and to renounce all preſent pretenſions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the ſucceſſor. But ſuch was the jealous character of this latter princeſs, that ſhe never would conſent to ſtrengthen the intereſt and authority of any claimant, by fixing the ſucceſſion; much leſs would ſhe make this conceſſion in favour of a rival queen, who poſſeſſed ſuch plauſible pretenſions for the preſent, and who, though ſhe might verbally renounce them, could eaſily reſume her claim on the firſt opportunity. Mary's propoſal, however, bore ſo ſpecious an appearance of equity and juſtice, that Elizabeth, ſenſible that reaſon would, by ſuperficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that ſide, made no more mention of the matter; and, though farther conceſſions were never made by either princeſs, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendſhip with each other.

The

The queen obſerving Mary ſufficiently depreſſed by the mutinous ſpirit of her ſubjects, employed herſelf in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She made ſome progreſs in paying thoſe great debts which lay upon the crown; ſhe regulated the coin, which had been much debaſed by her predeceſſors; ſhe furniſhed her arſenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and braſs cannon; fortified her frontiers on the ſide of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and ſo much increaſed the ſhipping of her kingdom, both by building veſſels of force herſelf, and ſuggeſting like undertakings to the merchants, that ſhe was juſtly ſtiled the reſtorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern ſeas. The natural frugality of her temper, ſo far from incapacitating her from theſe great enterpriſes, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and ſucceſs; and all the world ſaw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perſeverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

Though Elizabeth had made ſome declarations in favour of a ſingle life, ſhe had propoſals of marriage from the arch-duke Charles, from the ſon of the Elector Palatine, from Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holſtein; even ſome of her own ſubjects, among whom were the earl of Arundel, and Sir William Pickering, flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſucceſs; but the exterior qualities of lord Robert Dudley, a younger ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, ſeemed moſt to impreſs her, and men long expected he would obtain the preference above ſo many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all theſe ſuitors a gentle refuſal, which ſtill encouraged their purſuit; and ſhe thought that ſhe ſhould the better attach them to her intereſts if they were ſtill allowed to entertain hopes of ſucceeding

ceeding in their pretenſions. It is alſo probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry: and that, though ſhe was determined in her own mind never to ſhare her power with any man, ſhe was not diſpleaſed with the courtſhip, ſolicitation, and profeſſions of love, which the deſire of acquiring ſo valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is moſt ſingular, Elizabeth ſeemed not only averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown, but appeared determined, as far as lay in her power, that no one who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion ſhould ever have any heir. Lady Catherine Grey, younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, had married the earl of Hertford, ſon to the Protector; ſhe no ſooner proved to be pregnant, than Elizabeth committed her and her huſband to the tower. Her ſeverity ſtopped not here: She iſſued a commiſſion to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, the commerce between him and his conſort was declared unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourſe; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a freſh ſource of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds to be ſet on Hertford by the ſtar-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and ſevere. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty.

A. D. 1562. While France was convulſed by religious broils, the great rival powers of Europe were Spain and England. Tho' Philip the ſecond was cool and cautious by nature, his bigotry and tyranny were as pernicious both to the repoſe of his ſubjects and his neighbours as the moſt violent paſſions. Having eſcaped a violent tempeſt

tempeſt in his voyage from the Netherlands to Spain, he vowed that his life, which had been thus providentially preſerved, ſhould be henceforth devoted to the extirpation of hereſy; his ſubſequent conduct correſponded to theſe profeſſions; he iſſued orders for the proſecution of Heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries; and he convinced his ſubjects that there was no way to eſcape his vengeance, but by the moſt entire compliance, or the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance.

Philip, by placing himſelf at the head of the Catholic party, converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partizans of Spaniſh greatneſs; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he ſeduced every where the ſubjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native ſovereign.

The courſe of events had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite, and had raiſed her to be the bulwark of the Proteſtants throughout Europe. It was her policy to protect in France faction and innovation, while Philip found an advantage, in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government. That country, after the death of Francis the ſecond, was rent by civil diſcord; the Guiſes had ſeized the perſon of the young king Charles the ninth; and had compelled the queen regent to quit the party of Condé and Cologni, and to join theirs; yet the Hugonots ſtill defended themſelves with courage; and Philip, jealous of their progreſs, entered into a league with the princes of Guiſe for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy, and ſent ſix thouſand men to their aſſiſtance. The prince of Condé unequal to this combination, ſolicited ſuccours from Elizabeth, and offered to put Havre into her hands, on condition that together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of that place, ſhe ſhould likewiſe ſend over three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and ſhould furniſh him with a ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns.

Beſides ſupporting the general intereſts of the Proteſtants, Elizabeth was induced to accept the

propoſal

propoſal, by conſidering that could ſhe get poſſeſſion of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, ſhe might conſtrain the French to reſtore Calais, the ancient poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, and ſo much the favourite with the nation.

The prince of Condé reaped not however from this meaſure all the ſucceſſes he expected. Three thouſand Engliſh immediately took poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of ſir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found ſo little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The ſiege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a ſmall reinforcement into the place. Though theſe Engliſh troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the ſiege, the catholics ſtill continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at laſt by aſſault, put the whole garriſon to the ſword. The earl of Warwic, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived ſoon after at Havre with another body of three thouſand Engliſh, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their ſucceſs at Rouen, would immediately have formed the ſiege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom ſoon diverted their attention to another enterpriſe. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable body of proteſtants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the ſeat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris during ſome time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themſelves by the farther aſſiſtance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of

Elizabeth. The catholics, commanded by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, followed on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides: and the action was diſtinguiſhed by this ſingular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, fell both of them priſoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guiſe; but the admiral, whoſe fate it ever was to be defeated, and ſtill to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inſpiring his own unconquerable courage and conſtancy into every breaſt, kept them in a body, and ſubdued ſome conſiderable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to ſupport his cauſe, ſent him a new ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another ſum of equal amount.

A. D. 1563. The expences incurred by aſſiſting the French hugónots, had emptied the queen's exchequer; and obliged her to call a parliament. A little before the meeting of it, her life had been endangered by the ſmall pox, and the uncertainty which, in caſe of her demiſe, attended the ſucceſſion of the crown, had divided the nation into factions between the partizans of the queen of Scots, and thoſe of the houſe of Suffolk. The commons on the opening of the ſeſſion, voted an addreſs to the queen, intreating her to chooſe a huſband, whom they promiſed gratefully to receive, and faithfully to ſerve; or if ſhe entertained any reluctance to the married ſtate, they deſired the lawful ſucceſſor might be appointed by act of parliament.

This ſubject, though extremely intereſting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; a declaration in favour of the queen of Scots, would form a ſettlement perfectly legal; but Elizabeth dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics by this

this declaration. She was ſenſible every heir was in ſome degree a rival; and the power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connexions with the houſe of Guiſe would have rendered her a very formidable one. On the other hand, the title of the houſe of Suffolk was ſupported by the more zealous proteſtants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would beſtow on it ſuch validity as to give ſatisfaction to the people. The republican part of the conſtitution had not yet acquired ſuch an aſcendant as to control, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was diſputed, though founded on the utmoſt authority which a parliament could confer, who could be aſſured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had ſtill prevailed over religious prejudices, and the nation had ever ſhewn itſelf diſpoſed rather to change its faith than the order of ſucceſſion. Even many proteſtants declared themſelves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance; and nothing would occaſion more general diſguſt, than to ſee the queen, openly and without reſerve, take part againſt it. The Scottiſh princeſs alſo, finding herſelf injured in ſo ſenſible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domeſtic friends, the partiſans of the preſent title and of her eventual ſucceſſion, would ſoon bring matters to extremities againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. The queen, weighing all theſe inconveniencies, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining ſtill an ambiguous conduct; and ſhe rather choſe that the people ſhould run the hazard of contingent events, than that ſhe herſelf ſhould viſibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at beſt, would not beſtow entire ſecurity on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evaſive anſwer

to the application of the commons; and when the houſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, deſired, by the mouth of their ſpeaker, farther ſatisfaction on that head, ſhe could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe had fixed no abſolute reſolution againſt marriage; and ſhe added, that the difficulties attending the queſtion of the ſucceſſion were ſo great, that ſhe would be contented, for the ſake of her people, to remain ſome time longer in this vale of miſery; and never ſhould depart life with ſatisfaction, till ſhe had laid ſome ſolid foundation for their future ſecurity.

During this interval events had ariſen in France of the moſt important nature; the duke of Guiſe had been aſſaſſinated before Orleans; a peace had been negociated between Condé and Montmorency, both impatient to relieve themſelves from captivity; a toleration was now granted to the proteſtants, and both parties had united to expell the Engliſh from France.

The earl of Warwic commanded in Havre a garriſon of ſix thouſnad men, beſides ſeven hundred pioneers; and as the queen-regent, the king himſelf, and the prince of Condé were in the French camp, from the force, and diſpoſitions, and ſituations of both ſides, it was expected that the ſiege would be attended with ſome memorable event; yet did France make a much eaſier acquiſition of this important place, than was at firſt apprehended. The plague creeped in among the Engliſh ſoldiers; and being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions), it made ſuch ravages, that ſometimes a hundred men a day died of it, and there remained not at laſt fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with ſuch feeble reſiſtance, carried on their attacks ſucceſsfully; and having made two breaches, each of them ſixty feet wide, they prepared for a general aſſault, which muſt have terminated in the ſlaughter

of

of the whole garriſon. Warwic, who had frequently warned the Engliſh council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, found himſelf obliged to capitulate and to content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon. The articles were no ſooner ſigned, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and found the place ſurrendered to the enemy. To increaſe the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it ſwept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. About twenty thouſand perſons there died of it in one year.

Elizabeth, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had not appeared in this tranſaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent deſired to obtain leiſure, in order to prepare meaſures for the extermination of the hugonots, ſhe readily harkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England. It was agreed that the hoſtages which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be reſtored for 220,000 crowns; and that both ſides ſhould retain all their claims and pretenſions.

The peace ſtill continued with Scotland; the two queens had even agreed in the foregoing ſummer to an interview at York; but it is probable, Elizabeth did not chuſe to ſtand the compariſon with regard to thoſe exterior qualities, in which ſhe was eclipſed by her rival. She was particularly anxious leſt Mary might form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the crown. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealouſy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and ſhe offered on this condition to have her title examined, and to declare her ſucceſſor to the

crown. After keeping the matter in theſe general terms during a twelvemonth, ſhe at laſt named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leiceſter, as the perſon on whom ſhe deſired that Mary's choice ſhould fall.

The earl of Leiceſter, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, poſſeſſed of all thoſe exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair ſex; a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, an inſinuating behaviour; and by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, inſolent, intereſted, ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity; and atoned not for theſe bad qualities, by ſuch abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high truſt and confidence, with which ſhe always honoured him. Her conſtant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aſpire to her bed; and in order to make way for theſe nuptials, he was univerſally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heireſs of one Robeſart. The propoſal of eſpouſing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always aſcribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him loſe the friendſhip of Mary from the temerity of his pretenſions, and that of Elizabeth from jealouſy of his attachments to another woman. The queen herſelf had not any ſerious intention of effecting this marriage; but as ſhe was deſirous that the queen of Scots ſhould never have any huſband, ſhe named a man, who, ſhe believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leiceſter was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, ſeemed at laſt to hearken to Elizabeth's propoſal,

poſal, this princeſs receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which ſhe had thrown out to her rival.

After two years had been ſpent in evaſions, the wiſhes of Mary, and moſt of her counſellors centered in lord Darnley, ſon of the earl of Lenox. He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Magaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIIIth, and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was in his twentieth year, comely in his perſon, tall and delicately ſhaped; and as he was after Mary, next heir to the crown of England, it ſeemed no inconſiderable advantage that ſhe could by marrying him unite both claims. A. D. 1564.

Though Elizabeth would have wiſhed Mary to have continued ſingle, finding this ſcheme hopeleſs, ſhe was ſecretly not diſpleaſed with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots. In order to pave the way to it, ſhe deſired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverſe his attainder, and to reſtore him to his honours and fortune. And when her requeſt was complied with, ſhe took care, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of the Hamiltons and her other partiſans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary. Hearing that the negociation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, ſhe gave that nobleman permiſſion, on his firſt application, to follow his father into Scotland: but no ſooner did ſhe learn that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and perſon, and that all meaſures were fixed for eſpouſing him, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; ſent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon into the Tower, where they ſuffered a rigorous confinement; ſeized all Lenox's Engliſh eſtate; and though it was impoſſible for her to aſſign one ſingle reaſon for her diſpleaſure, ſhe menaced, and proteſted, and complained, as if ſhe had ſuffered the moſt grievous injury in the world.

The feigned diſpleaſure of Elizabeth,
A. D. 1565. ſerved her as a pretence for refuſing to acknowledge Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England, and for encouraging the diſcontents of the Scottiſh nobility and eccleſiaſtics. The marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afreſh the zeal of the reformers, becauſe the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith. The duke of Chatelrault was diſpleaſed with the aggrandizement of his hereditary enemies; the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, began to apprehend the revocation of ſome conſiderable grants which they had obtained from the crown. Influenced by theſe motives, but on pretence of their religion being in danger, they met at Stirling, framed engagements for mutual defence, and made applications to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance and protection; and that princeſs, beſides promiſes of ſupport, ſent them a ſupply of ten thouſand pounds to enable them to begin an inſurrection.

But the nation was in no diſpoſition for rebellion; Mary was yet eſteemed and beloved. She was no ſooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, than ſhe aſſembled her forces; and the malcontent lords, finding themſelves incapable of reſiſting her, were obliged to abandon their country, and to take ſhelter in England.

Elizabeth, when ſhe found the event ſo much to diſappoint her expectations, not only thought proper to diſown all connexions with the Scottiſh malcontents, but having ſeduced Murray, and the abbot of Kilwinning, agent of Chatelrault, by recent aſſurances of protection, to declare ſhe had no wiſe contributed to their inſurrection, ſhe chaſed them from her preſence, and called them deteſtable traitors, whoſe rebellion was of bad example to all princes. Finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated, they had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; but Mary, inſtead of yielding to the natural gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, was influenced on this

this occaſion by the cardinal of Lorraine, who adviſed her by no means to pardon the proteſtant leaders.

It was about this time that a total extermination of the proteſtants by fire and ſword, was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; the cardinal of Lorraine was a chief author of this aſſociation, and he took care that the meaſures of his niece the queen of Scots ſhould correſpond with thoſe violent counſels which were embraced by the other catholic princes. A parliament was ſummoned for attainting the baniſhed lords; their guilt was palpable; when a violent incident brought on the ruin of Mary, and ſaved them from the rigour of the law.

In her marriage, the queen of Scots had been allured by the exterior accom- A. D. 1566. pliſhments of Darnley; with theſe the qualities of his mind no wiſe correſponded. Violent, yet variable in his reſolutions; inſolent, yet credulous, and eaſily governed by flatterers; he was deſtitute of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, he was equally incapable of all true ſentiments of love and tenderneſs. The queen of Scots, in the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure: ſhe had granted him the title of king; ſhe had joined his name with her own in all public acts; ſhe intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown: but having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and vices, ſhe began to ſee the danger of her profuſe liberality, and was reſolved thenceforth to proceed with more reſerve in the truſt which ſhe ſhould confer upon him. His reſentment againſt this prudent conduct ſerved but the more to increaſe her diſguſt; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance againſt every one whom he deemed the cauſe of this change in her meaſures and behaviour.

There

There was in the court, one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmonteſe, of mean birth, ſon of a teacher of muſic, himſelf a muſician; and finding it difficult to ſubſiſt by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambaſſador, whom the duke of Savoy ſent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, ſome time after her firſt arrival. He poſſeſſed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and as that princeſs found him uſeful to complete her band of muſic, ſhe retained him in her ſervice after the departure of his maſter. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having, ſome time after, incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her perſon, and inſinuating himſelf into her favour. He was ſhrewd and ſenſible, as well as aſpiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made ſo good uſe of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded as the chief confident, and even miniſter of the queen. He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion; all ſuitors were obliged to gain him by preſents and flattery; and the man, inſolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquiſitions, ſoon drew on himſelf the hatred of the nobility, and of the whole kingdom. He had at firſt employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them: but on the ſubſequent change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's friends to perſuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouſe in his mind jealouſies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but was not paſt his yourh; and though the opinion of his criminal correſpondence with Mary might ſeem of itſelf unreaſonable, if not abſurd, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for

that laviſh and imprudent kindneſs with which ſhe honoured him. The rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was univerſally believed to be a penſionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all ſchemes againſt the proteſtants, any ſtory, to his and Mary's diſadvantage, received an eaſy credit among the zealous of that communion.

Rizzio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords. A rumour that Mary intended to intruſt him with the ſeals, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the chancellor Morton. The latter inflamed the jealouſy of Darnley, and perſuaded him to bring the baſe ſtranger to the fate he merited: George Douglas, and the lords Ruthven and Lindeſey offered their aſſiſtance in the enterprize; and proper meaſures being concerted, the baniſhed lords were invited by the king to return to their native country.

This deſign, ſo atrocious in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more ſo by the circumſtance which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in private and had at table the counteſs of Argyle, her natural ſiſter, with Rizzio, and others of her ſervants. The king entered the room by a private paſſage, and ſtood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, being all armed, ruſhed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They told her, that they intended no violence againſt her perſon; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his miſtreſs, and ſeizing her by the waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient aſſaſſins, regardleſs

gardleſs of her efforts, ruſhed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which ſtood in their way, increaſed the horror and confuſion of the ſcene. Douglas, ſeizing Henry's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds. The unhappy princeſs, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and ſaid, She would weep no more, ſhe would now think of revenge. The inſult, indeed, upon her perſon; the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries ſo atrocious, that they ſcarcely left room for pardon, even from the greateſt lenity and mercy.

The moment was favourable to Murray and the baniſhed lords, who, returning two days after, eaſily obtained their pardon; but Mary was not equally compliant to the aſſaſſins of Rizzio; ſhe found means to eſcape from the confinement ſhe had been held in by Morton and his accomplices. She fled to Dunbar; and having collected an army reduced the conſpirators to ſeek refuge in England. Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's, ſoon after procured them liberty to return; but the queen remained implacable againſt her huſband: after having rendered him contemptible by compelling him to diſown all connexions with the aſſaſſins, ſhe encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him. He was permitted however, to have apartments in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where Mary was delivered of a ſon. As this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, ſhe immediately diſpatched ſir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princeſs, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and alacrity, which uſually attended her on theſe occaſions: but when news arrived of the prince

of

of Scotland's birth, all her joy were damped: ſhe ſunk into melancholy; ſhe reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her former diſſimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haſte he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expreſſed the utmoſt cordiality and friendſhip to her ſiſter.

The birth of a ſon gave additional zeal to Mary's partiſans in England, and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliament; a circumſtance ſo diſpleaſing to Elizabeth, that ſhe ſoon diſſolved it, though the commons had voted her a ſupply of a ſubſidy, and a fifteenth to be levied at three payments. She even carried her dignity ſo far, that believing the commons had granted theſe with a view of engaging her to yield to their requeſt in regard to the ſucceſſion, ſhe voluntarily remitted the third payment; obſerving, that money in her ſubject's purſes was as good to her as in her own exchequer.

But though Elizabeth was able to elude the applications of parliament, A. D. 1567. the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leiceſter, Bedford, and Northumberland, ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the ſucceſſor; and the proſpects of Mary grew hourly more bright, when they were ſuddenly blaſted by her egregious indiſcretion at leaſt, if not her atrocious guilt.

The earl of Bothwel was of a conſiderable family and power in Scotland; and though not diſtinguiſhed by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which oppoſed

oppoſed the greatneſs of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himſelf to beggary by his profuſe expences; and ſeemed to have no reſource but in deſperate councils and enterpriſes. He had been accuſed more than once of an attempt to aſſaſſinate Murray; and though the frequency of theſe accuſations on all ſides diminiſh ſomewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove ſufficiently the prevalence of that deteſtable practice in Scotland, and may in that view ſerve to render ſuch rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her meaſures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies between them; and theſe reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increaſe of her hatred towards her huſband. That young prince was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once reſolved to fly ſecretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a veſſel for that purpoſe. Some of the moſt conſiderable nobility, on the other hand, obſerving her rooted averſion to him, had propoſed ſome expedients for a divorce; and though Mary is ſaid to have ſpoken honourably on the occaſion, and to have embraced the propoſal no farther than it ſhould be found conſiſtent with her own honour and her ſon's legitimacy, men were inclined to believe that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpoſe, was the real cauſe of laying aſide all farther thoughts of it. So far were the ſuſpicions againſt her carried, that when Henry, diſcouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court, and retired to Glaſgow, an illneſs of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized immediately on his arrival in that place, was univerſally aſcribed by her enemies to a doſe of poiſon, which,

which, it was pretended, ſhe had adminiſtered to him.

While affairs were in this ſituation, all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character, or to public tranquillity, were extremely pleaſed, and ſomewhat ſurpriſed, to hear, that a friendſhip was again conciliated between them, that ſhe had taken a journey to Glaſgow on purpoſe to viſit him during his ſickneſs, that ſhe behaved towards him with great tenderneſs, that ſhe had brought him along with her, and that ſhe appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more ſuitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not diſtruſting this ſudden reconciliation, put himſelf implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-houſe; but as the ſituation of the place was low, and the concourſe of people about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate of health, theſe reaſons were aſſigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him; and ſhe lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the king's houſe, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence appeared upon it.

No doubt could be entertained that Henry was murdered; and general conjecture ſoon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime. The earl of Lenox wrote to the queen, imploring

ſpeedy

ſpeedy juſtice againſt the aſſaſſins of his ſon, amongſt whom he named Bothwel. Mary allowed him only fifteen days to prove his charge; during which period Bothwel was continually ſurrounded with armed men; took his place in council; lived part of the time in the houſe with Mary, and was even intruſted with the command of the caſtle of Edinburgh. Lenox informed of theſe, and full of apprehenſion from the power and inſolence of his enemy, conjured Mary to poſtpone the trial. No regard was paid to his application: the jury was encloſed, of which the earl of Caithneſs was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreſeeing this precipitation had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt, in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict. The verdict was ſuch as it behoved them to give, where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwel was abſolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehenſive that their verdict would give great ſcandal, and perhaps expoſe them afterwards to ſome danger, entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented the neceſſity of their proceedings. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid againſt Bothwel for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was aſſaſſinated. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too groſs it was thought to have proceeded from miſtake, was, that the ſecret council, by whom Mary was governed, not truſting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they enſured, at all adventures, a plauſible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

Two days after this extraordinary tranſaction, a parliament was held; and a bond or aſſociation was framed, in which the ſubſcribers, after relating the acquital of Bothwel by a legal trial, obliged themſelves, in caſe any perſon ſhould afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with the

whole of their power. They then touched on the neceſſity of the queen's marriage, and recommended Bothwel to her as a huſband.

The ſubſequent meaſures of Bothwel were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a viſit to her ſon, he aſſembled a body of eight hundred horſe, on pretence of purſuing ſome robbers on the borders, and having waylaid her on her return, he ſeized her perſon near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed deſign of forcing her to yield to his purpoſe. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and ſays not, that he ſaw any ſigns of reluctance or conſtraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with her. A woman, indeed, of that ſpirit and reſolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not uſually, on theſe occaſions, give ſuch marks of oppoſition to *real* violence, as can appear anywiſe doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, ſent her a private meſſage; in which they told her, that if, in reality, ſhe lay under force, they would uſe all their efforts to reſcue her. Her anſwer was, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever ſince her arrival had been ſo well treated, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwel. No one gave himſelf thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance.

This unuſual conduct was at firſt aſcribed to Mary's ſenſe of the infamy attending her propoſed marriage; and her deſire of finding ſome colour to gloſs over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, given to Bothwel a few days after, made the public carry their conjectures ſomewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's perſon; and for

all other crimes: a clauſe, by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared ſcandalous to make openly any mention.

One difficulty ſtill remained; Bothwel had been married two years before to a woman of merit, ſiſter to the earl of Huntley. A ſuit was however commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife: it was urged that he was related to his wife in a fourth degree, and that he had been guilty of adultery. The ſuit was carried on with indecent precipitation; and in four days a ſentence of divorce was pronounced.

The divorce being thus obtained, Mary was conducted to Edinburgh; and appearing before the courts of judicature acknowledged herſelf reſtored to entire freedom. Orders were then given to publiſh in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney, for that was the title which he now bore; but Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh, who was applied to for that purpoſe, not only refuſed, but exhorted the queen againſt the infamous alliance. The biſhop of Orkney was more compliant in ſolemnizing the marriage. Few, however, of the nobility appeared at the ceremony. They had moſt of them, either from ſhame or fear, retired to their own houſes. The French ambaſſador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the marriage by his preſence. Elizabeth remonſtrated, by friendly letters and meſſages, againſt the marriage: the court of France made like oppoſition; but Mary, though on all other occaſions ſhe was extremely obſequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

The news of theſe tranſactions filled Europe with amazement: the Scots who reſided abroad were loaded

loaded with reproaches; and exhorted their countrymen at home to free them from the public odium, by bringing to condign puniſhment the authors of ſuch atrocious crimes. Theſe remonſtrances, with ſome attempts made by Bothwel to get the young prince into his power, awakened the principal nobility from their lethargy; they met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers: lord Hume was firſt in arms; and Bothwel having collected a conſiderable force, met at Carberry Hill the aſſociated lords; but Mary was ſoon ſenſible that her own troops were averſe to ſpill their blood in the quarrel. After ſome bravadoes of Bothwel, where he diſcovered very little courage, ſhe ſaw no reſource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herſelf, upon ſome general promiſes, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidſt the inſults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes; and even held before her eyes, which way ſoever ſhe turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her huſband, and the diſtreſs of her infant ſon. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourſe to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile Bothwel, during her conference with Kirkaldy, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, ſet ſail for the Orkneys, where he ſubſiſted during ſome time by piracy. He was purſued thither by Kirkaldy, and his ſhip was taken, with ſeveral of his ſervants, who afterwards diſcovered all the circumſtances of the king's murder, and were puniſhed for the crime. Bothwel himſelf eſcaped in a boat, and found means to get a paſſage to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years after; an end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

The malcontents ſent Mary under a ſtrong guard to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituated in a lake of that name; but her fallen condition ſeemed to have in-

ſpired Elizabeth with compaſſion. She ſent ſir Nicholas Throgmorton as her ambaſſador to Scotland; and ſhe empowered him to tell Mary, that ſhe was determined not to ſee her oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects; and that ſhe would employ all her power to place her in ſuch a condition as ſhould be compatible with her dignity, and the ſecurity of her people. She intreated her to proſecute the murderers of her huſband; and after her own liberty, and the puniſhment of Darnley's aſſaſſins were provided for, ſhe adviſed her to ſend her infant ſon to be educated in England, where he would be ſafe from the convulſions of faction.

To the aſſociate lords the language of Throgmorton was the ſame; but theſe were far from being affected by it; they even denied the ambaſſador acceſs to Mary. There were four different ſchemes propoſed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen: one, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her authority under very ſtrict limitations: the ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſign her crown to the prince, be baniſhed the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with aſſurances from the ſovereign in whoſe dominions ſhe ſhould reſide, that ſhe ſhould make no attempts to the diſturbance of the eſtabliſhed government: the third, that ſhe ſhould be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment: the fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon her. Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the performance of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in caſe of refuſal, and warned them not to draw on themſelves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found that, excepting ſecretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders.

The

The earl of Murray, who on the firſt breaking out of the civil commotions had paſſed over into France, was invited back to aſſume the regency; and the captive queen was not only prevailed on to approve him, but was induced by her apprehenſions for her life to ſign a deed, by which ſhe reſigned the crown in favour of her ſon; yet though the regent diſplayed great vigour and addreſs in the exerciſe of his authority, the fallen ſtate of Mary touched many of her ſubjects, eſpecially the catholics, with compaſſion and reſentment. While they only waited for an opportunity of giving bent to theſe paſſions, the queen eſcaped from Lochlevin to Hamilton, where ſhe was joined by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Crawford; and in a few days beheld herſelf at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men. A. D. 1568.

Elizabeth was no ſooner informed of Mary's eſcape, than ſhe diſpatched Leighton into Scotland to offer her both her good offices, and the aſſiſtance of her forces; but ſhe had not leiſure fully to exert her efforts. The regent made haſte to aſſemble forces; and with an army inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field againſt her. A battle was fought at Langſide near Glaſgow, which was entirely deciſive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, ſtopped the bloodſhed, yet was the action followed by a total diſperſion of the queen's party. That unhappy princeſs fled ſouthwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next meaſures, which would probably prove ſo important to her future happineſs or miſery. She found it impoſſible to remain in her own kingdom: She had an averſion, in her preſent wretched condition, to return into France, where ſhe had formerly appeared with ſo much ſplendour; and ſhe was not, beſides, provided with a veſſel which could ſafely convey her thither: The late ge-

nerous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even aſſiſtance, from that quarter; and as the preſent fears from her domeſtic enemies were the moſt urgent, ſhe overlooked all other conſiderations, and embraced the reſolution of taking ſhelter in England. She embarked on board a fiſhing-boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carliſle; whence ſhe immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to London; notifying her arrival, deſiring leave to viſit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in conſequence of former profeſſions of friendſhip made her by that princeſs.

Elizabeth now found it neceſſary to take ſome deciſive ſtep in regard to the queen of Scots; and ſhe was ſwayed by the opinion of Cecil to attend more to the ſuggeſtions of policy than of generoſity. That miniſter repreſented the party that had dethroned Mary, as attached to the Engliſh alliance by motives of religion and intereſt. That Mary on the other hand was ſecretly governed by the counſels of the houſe of Guiſe. That her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown would render her a formidable inſtrument in their hands. That it therefore behoved Elizabeth to proceed with caution in re-eſtabliſhing her rival; and to guard her perſon with vigilance leſt ſhe might be the means of exciting the Engliſh catholics to dangerous enterprizes; and he added, that Mary's imprudence having been ſo great, and, perhaps, her crimes ſo enormous, it was proper to aſcertain in a ſatisfactory manner the extent of her guilt, before the degree of protection to which ſhe was entitled could be determined on.

Agreeably to theſe views, Elizabeth diſpatched lord Scrope, and ſir Francis Knolles to inform Mary, that her requeſt of being allowed to viſit their ſovereign could not be complied with, till ſhe had cleared herſelf of her huſband's murder. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the neceſſity of her ſituation extorted from her a declaration,

ration, that ſhe would ſubmit her cauſe to the arbitration of her ſiſter.

The regent was prevailed on by the dread of Elizabeth's power to acquieſce in the ſame demand; and to promiſe that he would himſelf take a journey to England, and be governed by the determination of Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt he was conſcious it was to ſupport the king's cauſe. Yet it was with reluctance that Mary had conſented; and ſhe had only been allured to ſo humiliating a meaſure by the ſpecious profeſſions of Elizabeth, who inſinuated that ſhe was confident there could be no difficulty in refuting the calumnies of her enemies.

As Carliſle, by its ſituation on the borders, afforded Mary great opportunities to eſcape, ſhe was removed to Bolton, a ſeat of lord Scrope's in Yorkſhire: And the iſſue of the controverſy between her and the Scottiſh nation was regarded as a ſubject more momentous to Elizabeth's ſecurity and intereſts, that it had hitherto been apprehended.

The commiſſioners appointed by the Engliſh court for the examination of this great cauſe, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and ſir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Leſley biſhop of Roſs, the lords Herries, Levingſtone, and Boyde, with three perſons more, appeared as commiſſioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, lord Lindeſey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commiſſioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and hiſtorian, with ſome others, were named as their aſſiſtants.

Elizabeth knew whatever iſſue the cauſe ſhould take, ſhe muſt reap the advantages; if Mary's crimes could be aſcertained by undoubted proof, ſhe might juſtifiably detain her a priſoner in England; if the evidence fell ſhort of conviction, it was intended to reſtore her to the throne, but with ſuch

limitations as would render Elizabeth in effect abſolute miſtreſs of the kingdom.

Mary's commiſſioners before they gave in their complaints, proteſted that their appearance ſhould not be conſtrued as a mark of ſubordination to England; and the Engliſh commiſſioners received this proteſt with a reſerve to the claim of England. The former then detailed the injuries that Mary had ſuffered ſince her marriage with Bothwel; and when Murray urged her marriage with Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, and her voluntary reſignation of the crown, the queen replied, that ſhe could not ſuſpect Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her huſband, was the murderer of the king; and that the reſignation of the crown was extorted from her by well grounded fears for her life.

Murray hitherto had ſuppreſſed all material accuſations againſt Mary, under the idea that it was the intention of Elizabeth to reſtore the queen of Scots to the throne, however criminal ſhe might appear. He reſolved, therefore, not to venture raſhly on a meaſure which it would be impoſſible for him ever to recall; and he privately paid a viſit to Norfolk and the other Engliſh commiſſioners, confeſſed his ſcruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and deſired to have ſome ſecurity for Elizabeth's protection, in caſe that evidence ſhould, upon examination, appear entirely ſatisfactory. Norfolk was not ſecretly diſpleaſed with theſe ſcruples of the regent. He had ever been a partiſan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Lidington, who began alſo to incline to that party, and was a man of ſingular addreſs and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of eſpouſing her: And though that duke confeſſed, that the proofs againſt Mary ſeemed to him unqueſtionable, he encouraged Murray in his preſent reſolution, not to produce them publickly in the conferences before the Engliſh commiſſioners.

Norfolk,

Norfolk, however, was obliged to tranſmit to court the queries propoſed by the regent. Theſe queries conſiſted of four particulars: Whether the Engliſh commiſſioners had authority from their ſovereign to pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, in caſe her guilt ſhould be fully proved before them? Whether they would promiſe to exerciſe that authority, and proceed to an actual ſentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if ſhe were found guilty, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at leaſt, be ſo ſecured in England, that ſhe never ſhould be able to diſturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would alſo, in that caſe, promiſe to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?

On theſe queries being laid before Elizabeth, ſhe determined to bring the matter into full light. She ordered the conferences to be continued at Hampton-court, as nearer to her perſon. She joined in the commiſſion ſir William Cecil, and ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable of her council; and to all Murray's demands, ſhe returned ſatisfactory anſwers. Encouraged by this, the regent opened more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots, and, after expreſſing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and proteſting that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, which muſt not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in ſuch a meaſure, he proceeded to accuſe her in plain terms of participation and conſent in the aſſaſſination of the king. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity.

When this charge was ſo unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were tranſmitted to the biſhop of Roſs, lord Herries, and the other commiſſioners of Mary, they abſolutely refuſed to return an anſwer; and they grounded their ſilence on very extraordinary reaſons: They had orders, they ſaid, from

their miſtreſs, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and could not be ſubject to any tribunal; and they required that ſhe ſhould previouſly be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, to whom, and to whom alone, ſhe was determined to juſtify her innocence.

As the commiſſioners of the queen of Scots refuſed to give in any anſwer to Murray's charge, the proceedings ſeemed to be at an end; but Elizabeth, to draw from the regent full proofs of her guilt, employed a new artifice. She demanded what Murray could ſay in his juſtification for having caſt ſuch atrocious imputations on his queen; and that nobleman thus urged, produced the proofs of his charge; among the reſt, love letters and ſonnets of Mary's to Bothwel, written in her own hand; beſides a promiſe of marriage to him before his trial and acquittal.

Theſe important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a ſilver box, which he had committed to the cuſtody of Balfour, deputy-governor of Edinburgh. When that fortreſs was beſieged by the the aſſociated lords, Bothwel ſent a ſervant to receive the caſket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but as he had at that time received ſome diſguſt from Bothwel, and was ſecretly negociating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwel, of her conſent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her. Murray fortified this evidence by ſome teſtimonies of correſpondent facts; and he added, ſome time after, the dying confeſſion of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a ſervant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and

who directly charged the queen with her being acceſſary to that criminal enterpriſe.

Though Elizabeth had ſeen enough for her own ſatisfaction, ſhe was determined that the moſt eminent perſons of her court ſhould be acquainted with theſe tranſactions. The evidences produced by Murray were read before her privy council; and the commiſſioners of Mary were preſſed to continue her defence; the queen of Scots had no other ſubterfuge than ſtill to demand a perſonal interview with Elizabeth; this conceſſion ſhe was conſcious could never be granted, ſince it had been refuſed from the beginning. She then had recourſe to another device, which was to accuſe the earl of Murray, and his aſſociates as the murderers of the king; but this accuſation could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy; and the conferences being put an end to by her reſolution not to reply before the Engliſh commiſſioners, Elizabeth diſmiſſed Murray with a loan of five thouſand pounds to bear the expences of his journey; and removed the queen of Scots to Tetbury, in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury; ſhe was in hopes that Mary would agree either to reſign her crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government, and leave the regency to the earl of Murray; but this high ſpirited princeſs declared that her laſt words ſhould be thoſe of a queen of Scotland; and ſhe ineffectually importuned Elizabeth, either to aſſiſt her in recovering her authority, or to give her liberty to retire into France, and to make trial of the friendſhip of other princes.

In the mean time, the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis for the reſtitution of Calais had expired; and Elizabeth demanded by her ambaſſador at Paris, the ſurrender of that city. But the chancellor de l'Hopital anſwered, that though France was by that treaty obliged to reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years, by another article of the ſame treaty, the Engliſh forfeited all claim if they committed during the

that interval, hoſtilities againſt France. This they had done by taking poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe; and the queen, who knew the French court never intended to make reſtitution, thought it better to acquieſce in the loſs, than to purſue a doubtful title by a dangerous and expenſive war.

Elizabeth entered anew into negociations for eſpouſing the archduke Charles; but as policy only induced her to make the offer, and the terms that ſhe inſiſted on would have left that prince without any real power, he ſoon after married the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Character of the Puritans—Duke of Norfolk's Conſpiracy.—Aſſaſſination of the Earl of Murray.—Civil Wars of France.—Affairs of the Low Countries.—New Conſpiracy of the Duke of Norfolk.—His Execution.—Scotch Affairs.—French Affairs.—Maſſacre of Paris.—Civil Wars of the Low Countries.—Affairs of Scotland.—Spaniſh Affairs.—Sir Francis Drake.—Negociations of Marriage with the Duke of Anjou.—Affairs of Scotland.—Conſpiracies in England.—Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.—Affairs of the Low Countries.—Hoſtilities with Spain.

A. D. 1568. THOUGH the church of England had proceeded with the greateſt moderation in throwing off the yoke of papal authority, and had even retained ſo many ceremonies venerable from age, yet ſome of the Engliſh reformers had endeavoured to puſh matters to greater extremities. Objections had ariſen both with regard to the epiſcopal habit, and the rayment of the inferior clergy. The ſurplice in particular with the tippet, and corner cap, were objects of abhorrence to the popular zealots; but the queen, far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the ornaments which remained to it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual. She took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted; and ſhe puniſhed ſeverely all thoſe who offended againſt it. She was the more influenced to this, as the ſame daring ſpirit which accompanied theſe innovators in religious matters, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and though the

the Puritans, as they were called, were ſecretly countenanced by ſome of Elizabeth's moſt favoured miniſters, ſhe herſelf was never reconciled to their principles and practices.

A. D. 1569. But the puritans were only then emerging from obſcurity; and it was from a different quarter that Elizabeth was threatened with danger. The duke of Norfolk ſurpaſſed his country men in rank and opulence. The qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation; he was beneficent, affable, and generous; and had acquired the affections of the people without alarming the jealouſy of his ſovereign. Though he himſelf was educated among the reformers, his grandfather and father having long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics, this hereditary attachment had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable men of that party. But the height of his proſperity was the cauſe of his misfortunes; he was a widower, and his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared ſo natural, that it had occured to ſeveral of his friends, and thoſe of that princeſs. Mary had been ſounded; ſhe had replied, that though the vexations which ſhe had met with in her two laſt marriages had made her more inclined to lead a ſingle life, ſhe was determined to ſacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare; and therefore as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be legally divorced from Bothwel, ſhe would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another huſband.

This ſcheme had firſt been ſuggeſted to Norfolk by the earl of Murray. It is probable, however, that nobleman was not ſincere in the propoſal. He had two motives to engage him to diſſimulation. He knew the danger which he muſt run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, Mary's partiſans in that country; and he dreaded an inſurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom ſhe had appointed

pointed her lieutenants during her abſence. By theſe feigned appearances of friendſhip, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen; and he perſuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permiſſion, and even advice, to conclude a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the regent's party.

The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be previouſly obtained before the completion of his marriage, had reaſon to apprehend that he never ſhould prevail with her voluntarily to make that conceſſion. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealouſy againſt her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all propoſals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foreſaw that this princeſs's eſpouſing a perſon of his power and character and intereſt, would give the greateſt umbrage; and as it would then become neceſſary to reinſtate her in poſſeſſion of her throne on ſome tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhing of her character, he dreaded leſt Elizabeth, whoſe politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to ſuch indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previouſly to gain the conſent and approbation of ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable nobility; and he was ſucceſsful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewſbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex. Lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the propoſal: even the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained ſome views of eſpouſing Mary, willingly reſigned all his pretenſions, and ſeemed to enter zealouſly into Norfolk's intereſts. There were other motives, beſides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

The majority of the councellors were jealous of the influence which ſir William Cecil, the moſt able miniſter ever known in England, had over Elizabeth.

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As he was ſuppoſed to adopt the intereſts of the houſe of Suffolk, his enemies in oppoſition to him, were naturally led to attach themſelves to the queen of Scots. Norfolk, ſenſible of the difficulty of controlling Cecil's counſels, dared not open to Elizabeth his intentions; he proceeded in the ſame courſe of engaging more of the nobility to take part in his meaſures. Of theſe meaſures the kings of France and Spain, who had been conſulted, had expreſſed their approbation; and though Elizabeth's conſent was always regarded as a previous condition to finiſhing of this alliance, it was apparently the duke's deſign, to render his party ſo ſtrong that it ſhould no longer be in her power to refuſe it.

It was impoſſible that ſo extenſive a conſpiracy could entirely eſcape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped ſeveral intimations to the duke, by which he might learn that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head; but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her firſt by Leiceſter, then by Murray; who, if ever he was ſincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt intended, for his own ſafety, and that of his party, that Elizabeth ſhould, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and ſhould not have her conſent extorted by any confederacy of her own ſubjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more ſo, as thoſe intrigues were attended with other circumſtances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry, that ſeemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealouſly attached to the catholic religion, who had no other deſign than that of reſtoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil

civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who poſſeſſed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which ſhe ſhould think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and ſir Edward Stanley, ſons of the earl of Derby, ſir Thomas Gerard, Rolſtone, and other gentlemen, whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary reſided, concurred in the ſame views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the ſcheme, a diverſion ſhould, in the mean time, be made from the ſide of Flanders. Norfolk diſcouraged, and even in appearance ſuppreſſed, theſe conſpiracies; both becauſe his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpoſe by rebellion, and becauſe he foreſaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the poſſeſſion of theſe men, they would rather chuſe for her huſband the king of Spain, or ſome foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion.

Elizabeth thought it imprudent to ſuffer ſuch a formidable confederacy to gather ſtrength. By her orders the duke of Norfolk was arreſted and committed to the tower, under the cuſtody of ſir Henry Nevil. Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scots' ambaſſador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into cuſtody. The queen of Scots herſelf was removed to Coventry; all acceſs to her was, during ſome time, more ſtrictly prohibited; and viſcount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her.

The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland were alſo ſummoned to appear at court; but they

were ſenſible they had proceeded too far to truſt themſelves in the hands of their ſovereign; they determined rather to rely on their own ſtrength, and ſuch was their credit, that they ſoon drew together multitudes of the common people. They publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing againſt the queen, to whom they avowed unſhaken allegiance; and that their ſole aim was to re-eſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors, to remove evil counſellors, and to reſtore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty, and to the queen's favour. The numbers of the malcontents amounted to four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England.

The queen was not negligent in her own defence, and ſhe had beforehand, from her prudent and wiſe conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the beſt ſecurity of a ſovereign; inſomuch that even the catholics in moſt counties expreſſed an affection for her ſervice; and the duke of Norfolk himſelf, though he had loſt her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his ſituation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Suſſex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againſt the rebels at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had taken poſſeſſion. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwic and lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with a greater body, they found no other reſource than to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow. The common people retired to their houſes: the leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found ſkulking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the caſtle of Lochlevin. Weſtmoreland received ſhelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partiſans of Mary; and perſuaded them to

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make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This ſudden and precipitate rebellion was followed ſoon after by another ſtill more imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwic, was able, without any other aſſiſtance, to quell theſe rebels. Great ſeverity was exerciſed againſt ſuch as had taken part in theſe raſh enterpriſes. Sixty-ſix petty conſtables were hanged; and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid, on the whole, to have ſuffered by the hands of the executioner. But the queen was ſo well pleaſed with Norfolk's behaviour, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under ſome ſhow of confinement, in his own houſe; and only exacted a promiſe from him not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scots.

Elizabeth now found the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill conſequences which ſhe had foreſeen: it is pretended that ſhe had entered into a private negociation with Murray to deliver her into his hands; but theſe projects vaniſhed by the ſudden death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a perſon of conſiderable vigour, abilities, and conſtancy; but though he was not unſucceſsful, during his regency, in compoſing the diſſenſions in Scotland, his talents ſhone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and auſtere; and he poſſeſſed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character. A. D. 1570.

On the death of Murray the title of lieutenant, and afterwards of regent, was given to Lenox, the king's grandfather: in the mean time Elizabeth ſtill continued A. D. 1571.

to amuſe Mary with projects for her reſtoration; but as ſhe was far from ſincere in theſe propoſals, they only ſerved to increaſe the enmity between the two princeſſes; and the queen of Scots was more ſtrongly incited to make, at all hazards, every poſſible attempt for her liberty and ſecurity.

An incident alſo happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increaſe the vigilance and jealouſy of the latter princeſs. Pope Pius V. who had ſucceeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had irritated, iſſued at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. It ſeems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a meaſure which was at that time in agitation. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace; and ſcorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was ſeized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he ſeems to have entertained ſo violent an ambition.

A new parliament, after five years interval, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and the tranſactions of it ſhow the extent of the royal power during that age, as well as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. The lord keeper Bacon warned the parliament, in the name of the queen, not to meddle with any matters of ſtate. Yet the commons had ſitten a very few days, when Stricland, a puritan member, revived a bill for the amendment of the liturgy: the chief objection which he mentioned was the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. But religion was a point of which Elizabeth was ſtill more jealous if poſſible than of matters of ſtate: her courtiers did not forget to inſiſt on her quality of

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ſupreme head of the church. They were oppoſed by one Piſtor who aſſerted this to be the cauſe of God, in ompariſon of which ſubſidies, crowns, and kingdoms were but trifles. Though the zeal of this member ſeems to have been approved of, the houſe, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the queſtion, that a petition ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they ſhould ſtop all debate or reaſoning concerning it.

Matters would probably have reſted here, had not the queen been ſo highly offended with Stricland's preſumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that ſhe ſummoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the houſe of commons. This act of power was too violent even for the ſubmiſſive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the houſe were invaded; obſerved that Stricland was not a private man, but repreſented a multitude; and moved, that he might be ſent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might anſwer for it at the bar of the houſe, which he inſinuated to be the only competent tribunal. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with ſtill greater boldneſs. He ſaid, that the precedent was dangerous: and though in this happy time of lenity, among ſo many good and honourable perſonages as were at preſent inveſted with authority, nothing of extremity or injury was to be apprehended: yet the times might alter; what now is permitted, might hereafter be conſtrued as duty: and might be enforced even on the ground of the preſent permiſſion. He added, that all matters not treaſonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every queſtion that concerned the community muſt be conſidered, and where even the right of the crown itſelf muſt finally be determined.

He remarked, that men ſat not in that houſe in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the prince ſhould retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: As the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority.

Theſe principles were popular and noble; but the aſſertion of them was new in England; and the courtiers were more warranted when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treaſurer warned the houſe to be cautious in their proceedings; the member, he ſaid, whoſe attendance they required, was not reſtrained on account of any liberty of ſpeech, but his exhibiting a bill againſt the authority of the queen. Cleere, another member, remarked, that the ſovereign's prerogative is not ſo much diſputable. Fleetwood obſerved, that in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the preſent queen, had been called to account for a ſpeech in the houſe. But leſt this example ſhould be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a biſhop was committed to priſon by the king's command, on account of his freedom of ſpeech; and the parliament preſumed not to go farther than to be humble ſuitors for him: in the ſubſequent reign the ſpeaker himſelf was committed with another member; and the houſe found no other remedy than a like ſubmiſſive application. He adviſed the houſe to have recourſe to the ſame expedient; and not to preſume either to ſend for their member, or demand him as of right. During this ſpeech, thoſe members of the privy-council who ſat in the houſe whiſpered together; upon which the ſpeaker moved, that the houſe ſhould make ſtay of all farther proceedings: a motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which ſhe had made was likely to excite a great ferment, ſaved her honour by this ſilence of the houſe; and leſt the queſtion

tion might be reſumed, ſhe ſent next day to Stricland her permiſſion to give his attendance in parliament.

A motion was ſoon after made by Robert Bell, a puritan, againſt an excluſive patent granted to a company of merchants in Briſtol: the queen, ſome days after the motion was made, commanded, by the mouth of the ſpeaker, the houſe to ſpend little time in motions: all members underſtood ſhe had been offended, becauſe a matter had been moved which ſeemed to touch upon her prerogative. Fleetwood aſſerted, that to queſtion the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative: ſir Humphrey Gilbert, the gallant ſea adventurer, puſhed this maxim further; he ſaid, the motion of Bell tended to the derogation of the perogative imperial; for what difference is there between ſaying, that the queen is not to uſe the privilege of the crown, and ſaying that ſhe is not queen? he deſired them to beware, leſt they induced the queen to look into her own power, and to imitate the example of Lewis the Eleventh of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardſhip.

Yet this menace did not prevent Peter Wentworth, a man of ſuperior ſpirit, from reproaching ſir Humphrey with his diſpoſition to fawn, and flatter the prince; and he recommended to the houſe a due care of the privileges of parliament; but Bell, having been ſeverely reprimanded by the council for introducing the motion, returned to the houſe, with ſuch an amazed countenance, as ſtruck all the members with terror; and ever after, when any delicate point was touched upon, the whiſper ran, "the queen will be offended—the council will be "diſpleaſed." Yet the patent which the queen defended with ſuch imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of her induſtrious ſubjects.

In theſe tranſactions appeared the opinion which

Elizabeth had entertained of the duty of parliament: they were not to canvaſs any matters of ſtate; ſtill leſs were they to meddle with the church. What then was the office of parliaments?—they might give directions for tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preſervation of pheaſants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; and for the puniſhment of vagabonds or beggars. But the moſt acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of ſubſidies, and the countenancing ſuch efforts of power as might be deemed exceptionable when they proceeded entirely from the ſovereign.

Notwithſtanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to ſway the ſceptre of England with unprecedented popularity; and the following were among the principal laws enacted this ſeſſion. It was declared treaſon, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign, or that any other poſſeſſed a preferable title, or that ſhe was a heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the laws and ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the ſucceſſor thereof: to maintain in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon and all his abettors, for the firſt offence, to impriſonment, during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: the ſecond offence ſubjected them to the penalty of a premunire. This law was plainly levelled againſt the queen of Scots and her partiſans; and implied an avowal, that Elizabeth never intended to declare her ſucceſſor. It may be noted, that the uſual phraſe of *lawful iſſue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if ſhe could be ſuppoſed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural iſſue*. But this alteration was the ſource of pleaſantry during the time; and ſome ſuſpected a deeper deſign, as if Leiceſter intended, in caſe of the

the queen's demiſe, to produce ſome baſtard of his own, and affirm that he was her offspring.

It was alſo enacted, that whoſoever by bulls ſhould publiſh abſolutions or other reſcripts of the pope, or ſhould, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſuch offenders, as well as thoſe who were ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon. The penalty of a premunire was impoſed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or ſuch other implement of ſuperſtition, conſecrated by the pope. The former laws againſt uſury were enforced by a new ſtatute. A ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as ſhe was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in aſking them for any ſupply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues ſuffice for the neceſſities of the crown, or ſhe employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by ſome ſuch ruinous expedient.

Yet amidſt ſuch uncontrolled authority over her parliaments, Elizabeth felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries, inſtructed her in the danger of her ſituation, when ſhe remarked England contained no leſs than thoſe countries the ſeeds of inteſtine diſcord; though in the bloody ſtruggle between the proteſtants and catholics, the prince of Condé had fallen in 1569 in France, the cauſe of the hugonots was ſtill ſupported by the admiral Coligni, and the young prince of Navarre; while the eſtabliſhed church beheld in the duke of Guiſe a zealous champion, who early diſplayed thoſe great and ſhining qualities which ſeemed hereditary in his family.

Elizabeth, who dreaded the aſcendancy of the Guiſes, and who had fixed her attention on the civil commotions of France, had lent money to the queen of Navarre; and permitted a regiment of volunteers

volunteers to be carried over to the ſupport of the proteſtants, with this aid they had been able to make head againſt their religious enemies; and under the conduct of the admiral had extorted an accommodation from Charles the IXth, which granted them a a pardon for paſt offences, and renewed the edicts for liberty of conſcience.

But this accommodation was only a ſnare by which Charles had projected to cruſh them at once; and that he might more effectually lull them into a fatal ſecurity, he pretended to enter into a cloſe connection with Elizabeth; he even ſolicited her hand for the duke of Anjou, whoſe youth, beauty, and reputation for valour, might naturally be ſuppoſed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether inſenſible to theſe endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, ſhe laid herſelf the more open to be deceived.

While the two courts equally inſincere ſeemed employed on the terms of an alliance, which neither were deſirous to complete, the attention of both were directed to the affairs of the low countries. It was her dread of Philip that had partly engaged Elizabeth in this ſyſtem of diſſimulation. The unrelenting character, and inflexible bigotry of that prince, had been ſeverely felt by the Flemings. Repeated attempts were made on their liberties; a violent perſecution was ſet on foot againſt ſuch as had embraced the reformed religion; and the ſufferings to which they were expoſed, induced them to form numerous aſſociations; and even in ſome cities to break out into open revolt. Not content with reducing them to ſubmiſſion, Philip was determined to lay hold of the late popular diſorders, as a pretence for entirely aboliſhing the privileges of the Low Countries, and for ruling them with arbitrary authority.

In the execution of this violent deſign, he employed

ployed a man, who was a proper inſtrument in the hands of ſuch a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidſt arms; and having attained a conſummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the ſevere diſcipline of a camp, and to conceive no meaſures between prince and ſubject, but thoſe of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animoſity to the Flemings, with his known character, ſtruck that whole people with terror and conſternation. It belongs not to our ſubject to relate at length thoſe violences which Alva's natural barbarity, ſteeled by reflection, and aggravated by inſolence, exerciſed on thoſe flouriſhing provinces. It ſuffices to ſay, that all their privileges, the gift of ſo many princes, and the inheritance of ſo many ages, were openly and expreſsly aboliſhed by edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in ſpite of their great merits and paſt ſervices, brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner: And notwithſtanding the peaceable ſubmiſſion of all men, nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth, alarmed for the general ſafety of the proteſtants, had given protection to all the Flemiſh exiles, who took ſhelter in her dominions; and as many of them were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, ſhe reaped the advantage of introducing into England ſome uſeful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. She even ventured one more deciſive meaſure. Some Genoeſe merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to tranſport into Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and the veſſels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French hugonots,

hugonots, and had taken ſhelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ſhips pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding upon enquiry that it was the property of Genoeſe merchants, took poſſeſſion of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this reſource in the time of his greateſt neceſſity. Alva, in revenge, ſeized all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into priſon, and confiſcated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants; and gave all the Engliſh liberty to make repriſals on the ſubjects of Philip.

Though theſe differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, the delay of the remittance had proved fatal to the plans of Alva; and had obliged him to anſwer the immediate demands of his troops, to impoſe the moſt ruinous taxes on the Flemings; the latter refuſed compliance, and matters came daily nearer the laſt extremities between them and the Spaniards.

To revenge himſelf on Elizabeth, Alva determined to ſupport the pretenſions of the queen of Scots. He availed himſelf of one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who, zealous for his religion, formed a ſcheme with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government by a foreign invaſion, and domeſtic inſurrection. He communicated his projects by letter to Mary, who now fully convinced of Elizabeth's inſincerity, willingly gave her conſent. The great number of diſcontented catholics, were the the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; but in order to inſpire courage into theſe, it was requiſite that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

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This nobleman, when releaſed from confinement in the Tower, had given his promiſe, that he would drop all intercourſe with the queen of Scots; but finding that he had loſt, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being ſtill, in ſome degree, reſtrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correſpondence with the captive princeſs. A promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts; and as his remorſes gradually diminiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was puſhed to give his conſent to enterpriſes ſtill more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould, on ſome other pretence, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the Low Countries; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; ſhould thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever terms the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her. Norfolk expreſſed his aſſent to this plan; and three letters, in conſequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the danger, refuſed to ſign them. He only ſent to the Spaniſh ambaſſador a ſervant and confident, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of theſe letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, proceeded on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the ſcheme with alacrity: Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions; and every thing ſeemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

The conſpiracy had hitherto eſcaped the vigilance of Cecil, now lord Burleigh; but Mary intending

to ſend a ſum of money to her partiſans in Scotland, Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Banniſter, a ſervant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find ſome expedient for conveying it to lord Herries. He entruſted the money to a ſervant who was not in the ſecret, and told him that the bag contained a ſum of money in ſilver, which he was to deliver to Banniſter with a letter: But the ſervant conjecturing, from the weight and ſize of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Banniſter, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's ſecretary, to be put under arreſt, and to undergo a ſevere examination. Torture made them confeſs the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the houſe, full evidence now appeared againſt his maſter. Norfolk himſelf, who was entirely ignorant of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confeſſion, he perſiſted in denying every crime, with which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance; but finding him obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been committed to cuſtody before the diſcovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his ſhare in the conſpiracy. He at firſt inſiſted on his privilege; but he was told, that as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambaſſador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conſpiring againſt the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided. As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, he was informed of the confeſſion made by Norfolk's ſervants, after which he no longer ſcrupled to make a full diſcovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all queſtion.

queſtion. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the ſtrict rules obſerved at preſent in theſe matters; except that the witneſſes gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the priſoner: A laudable practice, which was not at that time obſerved in trials for high treaſon.

Elizabeth heſitated above four months before ſhe ſigned the warrant for the execution of Norfolk. He died with calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he denied any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen, he acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence. The earl of Northumberland, who had been delivered up by the regent of Scotland, was executed about the ſame time. A. D. 1572.

Elizabeth had demanded ſatisfaction of the queen of Scots, as the occaſion of theſe diſturbances; and her juſtification ſeemed ſo feeble, that the parliament made a direct application to the throne for her trial and execution. The queen, however, commanded the commons not to deal any farther at preſent in the affair. But though ſhe would not carry matters to the laſt extremities againſt Mary, ſhe was alarmed at her reſtleſs ſpirit, and thought it neceſſary to increaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement. Scotland ſtill remained in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; in a ſally his party had ſeized the regent, and had put him to death. The earl of Marre who was choſen his ſucceſſor, died of melancholy, with which the diſtracted ſtate of his country afflicted him. Morton, who was next choſen regent, had ſecretly taken his meaſures with Elizabeth, who ordered ſir William Drury, governor of Berwic, to join Morton in the ſiege of the caſtle of Edinburgh. The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion; Kirkaldy was tried, condemned, and executed; and Scotland ſubmitting entirely to the

regent, gave not for a long time any inquietude to Elizabeth.

The events in France were not ſo agreeable. Charles, though young, and of a paſſionate nature, had by his profound diſſimulation, lulled aſleep the jealouſy of Walſingham, the ambaſſador of Elizabeth; and under pretence of beſtowing his ſiſter Margaret on the king of Navarre, had allured the principal hugonots to Paris. But on the evening of St. Bartholemew, the ſignal was given for a general maſſacre of theſe religioniſts, and the king himſelf led the way to theſe aſſaſſinations. The admiral, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had ſignilized themſelves by the moſt heroic actions, were miſerably butchered, without reſiſtance; the ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than ſatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had ſaved the victims from farther inſult, exerciſed on their dead bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank periſhed in this maſſacre, and near ten thouſand of inferior condition. Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the proteſtants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been propoſed by the duke of Guiſe; but Charles, ſoftened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that theſe young princes might eaſily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to ſpare their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change of their religion.

To cover this barbarous policy, Charles ordered his ambaſſador in England to accuſe the hugonots of a conſpiracy to ſeize his perſon. Elizabeth, ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe ſtood, avoided coming to extremities with the king of France;

France; and replied to his apology, that the ſame force which had maſſacred ſo many defenceleſs men, could eaſily have ſecured their perſons for trial; but that ſhe would however form her judgment of his intentions by his ſubſequent conduct; and in the mean time, ſhe ſhould act as deſired by the ambaſſador, and rather pity, than blame his maſter. She repreſſed the zeal of the gentry of England, who offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to tranſport them to France; and to maintain them ſix months at their own coſt. She even allowed negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother; thoſe with the duke of Anjou having been broken off; but at the time ſhe fortified Portſmouth, put her fleet in order, exerciſed her militia, and diligently cultivated the affections of her people.

Charles had not reaped from his treachery the advantages he expected; the hugonots, inſtead of being exterminated were able to aſſemble an army of eighteen thouſand men; and while the king meditated againſt them further violences, he expired in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his brother Henry, duke of Anjou. A. D. 1573. 1574.

Henry obſerving the low condition of the crown, had laid a ſcheme for reſtoring his authority, by mediating between both parties. In conſequence of this, he granted peace on honourable conditions to the proteſtants; whoſe credit was revived by the opening virtues and reputation of the young king of Navarre. But this peace enabled the duke of Guiſe to declaim againſt the conduct of Henry, and afforded him the opportunity of laying the foundation of the famous LEAGUE, which without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the hugonots. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league, declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy; but his moderation became ſuſpicious to both A. D. 1575. 1578.

parties; and he had the mortification to obſerve, that the avowed conduct of the duke of Guiſe on one ſide, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themſelves to one or other of thoſe great leaders.

A. D. 1579. Elizabeth had always conſidered her own intereſts as inſeparable from thoſe of the French reformed; and the ſame political views which engaged her to ſupport the hugonots, would have led her to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed proteſtants of the Low Countries. But ſhe was awed by the mighty power of Philip; and at the inſtance of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſhe even denied the Flemiſh exiles all entrance into her dominions. This meaſure proved in the iſſue extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of Philip. Theſe deſperate men, finding no longer any poſſibility of ſubſiſtence, were forced to attempt the moſt perilous enterpriſes; and they made an aſſault on the Brille, a ſea-port town in Holland, where they met with ſucceſs, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, became maſters of the place. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and, ſtopping thoſe bloody executions which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, he haſtened with his army to extinguiſh the flame, which, falling on materials ſo well prepared for combuſtion, ſeemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears ſoon appeared to be well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572.

William, prince of Orange, deſcended from a ſovereign family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the poſſeſſions of a ſovereign family

family in France, had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal merit, was univerſally regarded as the greateſt ſubject that lived in thoſe provinces. He had oppoſed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Countries were confiſcated. In revenge he had levied an army of proteſtants in the empire, and had made ſome attempts to reſtore the Flemings to liberty; but was ſtill repulſed with loſs by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as diſcipline, of thoſe veteran Spaniards who ſerved under that general.

The revolt of Holland and Zealand called the prince of Orange from his retreat. He united the revolted cities in a league, and inflamed the inhabitants by every motive, which religious zeal, reſentment, or love of freedom could inſpire. Animated by his ſpirit, they repulſed Alva from the wall of Alcmaer; and the duke finding at laſt the effect of his pernicious counſels, ſolicited to be recalled.

Requeſens who replaced him, was a man of a milder diſpoſition; but the hatred of the Hollanders againſt the Spaniſh government was inveterate, and as the conteſt ſeemed unequal between ſo mighty a monarchy and two ſmall provinces, the prince of Orange determined to ſue for foreign ſuccour. He preferred to France, England long connected, both by commerce and alliance with the Netherlands, and concerned in their fate by ſympathy in

religion; but Elizabeth ſtill dreaded an open war with Spain; ſhe declined the proffered ſovereignty; ſhe however offered her mediation. She ſent accordingly, ſir Henry Cobham to Philip; and repreſented to him the danger which he would incur of loſing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the leaſt interval from her inteſtine diſorders, and find leiſure to offer her protection to thoſe mutinous and diſcontented provinces. Philip ſeemed to take this remonſtrance in good part; but no accord enſued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the ſame rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their preſent deſperate ſituation. Requeſens, the governor, dying ſuddenly, the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confuſion. They ſacked and pillaged the cities of Maeſtricht and Antwerp, and executed great ſlaughter on the inhabitants: They threatened the other cities with a like fate: And all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence againſt their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the reſtoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually ſtipulated to purſue. Don John of Auſtria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had ſo fortified themſelves, and that the Spaniſh troops were ſo divided by their ſituation, that there was no poſſibility of reſiſtance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and theſe provinces ſeemed at laſt to breathe a little from their calamities.

But the ambition of Don John, who coveted this

great theatre for his military talents, broke all articles, ſeized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spaniſh army from Italy. Endowed with a lofty genius, he had projected to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the Britiſh kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and ſeeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair proſpect of their making a long and vigorous defence againſt Spain, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which ſeemed ſo intimately connected with her own ſafety. After ſending them a ſum of money, about twenty thouſand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, ſhe concluded a treaty with them; in which ſhe ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thouſand pounds, on receiving the bonds of ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the Engliſh army ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previouſly informing the queen or him of it; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that if any diſcord aroſe among themſelves, it ſhould be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that which ſhe had employed in their defence. This alliance was ſigned on the 7th of January 1578.

Elizabeth was deſirous to make the king of Spain believe that her ſole motive for entering into this treaty, was to prevent the States throwing themſelves into the arms of France. Philip diſſembled his reſentment, and continued to ſupply Don John with money and troops. That prince obtained a conſiderable advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midſt of his proſperity by poiſon, given him ſecretly, as was ſuſpected,

by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma ſucceeded to his command, and advanced the progreſs of the Spaniards, as well by his arts as his arms.

The prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration, had maintained England in profound tranquility, while Europe was almoſt every where in great commotion. In regard to religion, on which depended the principal tranſactions of that age, ſhe could never be accuſed of ſeverity or imprudence. The bull which the pope publiſhed excommunicating her, had indeed increaſed her vigilance with the Romaniſts; yet it was over the puritans, ſhe appeared more anxious to keep a ſtrict hand. Theſe ſeemed to be actuated by a dangerous obſtinacy; and to retain claims of which, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, it was difficult to diſcern the full ſcope and intention. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had ſignalized himſelf in former parliaments by his free and undaunted ſpirit, had opened the ſeſſion of 1576, with an harangue which gave great offence to the queen and the miniſters. He premiſed, that liberty is precious beyond the moſt ineſtimable treaſure. He proceeded to obſerve, that freedom of ſpeech in that houſe was at preſent expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. That it was uſual when any ſubject of importance was handled, to ſurmiſe, that theſe topics were diſagreeable to the queen. That by employing of this argument, the houſe was incapacitated from ſerving their country. That as the parliament was the guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to diſcharge their truſt; that a king was conſtituted ſuch by law, and though he was not dependent on men, yet was he ſubordinate to God and the law; and that as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, ſo neither was the queen herſelf; but, in impoſing this ſervitude on her faithful commons, had committed a dangerous fault againſt herſelf and the whole commonwealth.

The commons expreſſed great diſpleaſure at this unuſual

ſual licenſe; they ſequeſted Wentworth from the houſe, and committed him priſoner to the ſerjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, conſiſting of all thoſe members who were alſo members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the houſe. This committee met in the ſtar-chamber, and, wearing the aſpect of that arbitrary court, ſummoned Wentworth to appear before them and anſwer for his behaviour. But though the commons had diſcovered ſo little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the ſtar-chamber, Wentworth better underſtood the principles of liberty, and refuſed to give theſe counſellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were ſatisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy council, but as a committee of the houſe. He juſtified his liberty of ſpeech, by pleading the rigour and hardſhips of the queen's meſſages; and notwithſtanding that the committee ſhewed him, by inſtances in other reigns, that the practice of ſending ſuch meſſages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to expreſs any ſorrow or repentance. The iſſue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen ſent to the commons, informing them, that, from her ſpecial grace and favour, ſhe had reſtored him to his liberty, and to his place in the houſe. By this ſeeming lenity, ſhe indirectly retained the power which ſhe had aſſumed, of impriſoning the members, and obliging them to anſwer before her for their conduct in parliament.

A. D. 1580. But the moſt abſolute authority that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign never exempted her from anxiety; the nobility of Scotland, diſguſted by Morton's avarice, began to break into factions. The regent, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, dropped ſome expreſſions as if he were willing to reſign. The favourites of the young king, who was only eleven years old, ſeized the offer; and Morton, having received a full pardon for all tranſactions,

the government was nominally directed by James; yet Morton ſoon after quitted retirement, and, though without the title of regent, obtained ſuch an aſcendancy in the council, as reſtored him to his former authority.

His enemies, however, daily multiplied; and amongſt theſe the moſt formidable were d'Aubigny earl of Lenox, who was ſtrongly attached to the Guiſes, and James Stuart of Ochiltree, who, under appearance of amuſing James in his childiſh ſports, had acquired his confidence, and inſtilled into his mind new maxims of politics: theſe diligently laboured the ruin of Morton. That nobleman was arreſted in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to priſon, brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer as a traitor. He confeſſed that Bothwel had communicated to him the deſign, had pleaded Mary's conſent, and had deſired his concurrence; but he denied that he himſelf had ever expreſſed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuſe for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the ſecret, either to Henry, who had no reſolution nor conſtancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder. Sir Thomas Randolph was ſent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambaſſador, not content with diſcharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his perſuaſion, the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be aſſembled on the borders of England; but this expedient ſerved only to haſten his ſentence and execution. Morton died with that conſtancy and reſolution, which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was leſs diſputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this concluſion of the ſcene happened not till the ſubſequent year.

Eliza-

Elizabeth was more anxious about Scotland, ſince it was on that ſide alone that England was acceſſible by land; ſhe was conſcious of the active enmity of the Guiſes and Philip; the latter to retaliate the aſſiſtance which ſhe had afforded to the Low Countries, had landed in the name of the pope ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians in Ireland: the invaders, however, were obliged to ſurrender; and when the Engliſh ambaſſadors complained of the invaſion, they were anſwered by ſimilar complaints of the piracies committed by Drake in the new world.

Francis Drake ſprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired conſiderable riches by depredations made in the iſthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a ſight of the Pacific ocean, was ſo ſtimulated by ambition and avarice, that he ſcrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo much unknown at that time to all the European nations. By means of ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her conſent and approbation; and he ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and ſixty-four able ſailors. He paſſed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in thoſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the ſame way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific ocean; he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and failing in that enterpriſe, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the globe; and the firſt commander in chief; for Magellan, whoſe ſhip executed the ſame adventure, died in his paſſage.

Eliza-

Elizabeth, to avert the reſentment of
A. D. 1581. the Spaniards, was adviſed to diſavow the adventure; but the proſpect of ſharing the booty, induced her to confer the honour of knighthood on that gallant ſailor, and to accept a banquet from him on board the ſhip which had atchieved ſo memorable a voyage. She was at this time in ſuch want of money, that ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament, which granted her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths; and paſſed alſo ſome ſevere laws againſt the catholics, whoſe active hatred againſt Elizabeth had of late been peculiarly excited by the Jeſuits, a new order of regular prieſts, diſtinguiſhed for their enterpriſing genius, and their ſuperior zeal for the church of Rome.

Theſe general laws againſt the catholics did not prevent Elizabeth from continuing a negociation for marriage with the duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou; and ſuch was her conduct, that the earl of Leiceſter, who had always truſted that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to matrimony, began to apprehend that ſhe was caught in her own ſnare: and that the encouragement ſhe had given to a ſuitor twenty-five years younger than herſelf, had engaged her affection. Leiceſter's own credit ſeemed injured by the marriage which he had recently contracted with the widow of the earl of Eſſex; and a private viſit which the duke of Anjou paid the queen at Greenwich, appeared to confirm her prepoſſeſſion for him. Soon after ſhe commanded Burleigh, now treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had ſent over on this occaſion a ſplendid embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many conſiderable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled with the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was agreed

agreed that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould have the exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage he ſhould bear the title of king, but the adminiſtration remain ſolely in the queen; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

Elizabeth however ſtill remained in uncertainty; ſhe added a clauſe that ſhe was not bound to complete the marriage till further articles, which were not ſpecified, ſhould be agreed upon between the parties. Though ſhe ſent Walſingham over as ambaſſador to France, her inſtructions to him were frequently contradictory; and not only the court of France, but the wiſeſt miniſters of Elizabeth, were doubtful where this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition, would at laſt terminate.

To open the campaign in Flanders, the queen had broken through her general maxims of economy, and furniſhed the duke of Anjou with an hundred thouſand crowns: this money, with the aſſiſtance he received from his brother, enabled him to levy an army, with which he raiſed the ſiege of Cambray; and having been choſen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he returned to England: his reception from Elizabeth became ſtill more flattering. In the midſt of the pomp which attended the anniverſary of her coronation, ſhe was ſeen, after long and intimate diſcourſe with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the ſpectators concluded, that in this ceremony ſhe had given

given him a promiſe of marriage, and was even deſirous of ſignifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambaſſador from the States, diſpatched immediately a letter to his maſters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who as well as the other Flemings regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, teſtified their joy by bonfires and the diſcharge of their great ordnance. A puritan of Lincoln's Inn had written a paſſionate book, which he intitled, "The Gulph in "which England will be ſwallowed by the French "Marriage." He was apprehended and proſecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to loſe his right hand as a libeller. Such was the conſtancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the ſentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God ſave the queen!"

Yet the combat of Elizabeth's ſentiments was not entirely over; all the courtiers whom ſhe truſted and favoured diſcovered an extreme reluctance to the marriage; the ladies of her bed-chamber oppoſed her intentions with the moſt zealous remonſtrances; and ſir Philip, ſon of ſir Henry Sidney, nephew to Leiceſter, a young man the moſt accompliſhed of the age, uſed the freedom to write her a letter, in which he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution, with an unuſual elegance of expreſſion, as well as force of reaſoning.

A. D. 1582. Theſe reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and and irreſolution; and ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights without any ſleep or repoſe. At laſt her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having ſent for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long conference with him in private, where ſhe was ſuppoſed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expreſſed great diſguſt on his leaving her; threw away the ring which ſhe had given him; and

and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women, and of iſlanders. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; loſt the confidence of the States by a raſh and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, ſaved herſelf from the numerous miſchiefs which muſt have attended ſo imprudent a marriage: and the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that reſentment which ſhe had reaſon to dread from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family.

The affairs of Scotland again engroſſed the attention of the queen. The nobles were diſcontented at the influence of the earl of Lenox, and of Stuart, who now aſſumed the title of earl of Arran: a conſpiracy was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for ſeizing the perſon of James at Ruthven, a ſeat of the earl of Gowry's; and the deſign being kept ſecret, ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The leaders in this enterpriſe were, the earl of Gowry himſelf, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindeſey and Boyd, the maſters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paiſley, and Cambuſkenneth. The king wept when he found himſelf detained a priſoner; but the maſter of Glamis ſaid, "No matter for his tears: better that boys weep "than bearded men:" an expreſſion which James could never afterwards forgive. But notwithſtanding his reſentment, he found it neceſſary to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. He pretended an entire acquieſcence in the conduct of the aſſociators; acknowledged the detention of his perſon to be acceptable ſervice; and agreed to ſummon both an aſſembly of the church and a convention of eſtates, in order to ratify that enterpriſe. A. D. 1582. 1583.

The aſſembly decided, that the attempt of the conſpirators was acceptable to all who feared God; the convention ſanctioned their declaration: Arran

was

was confined a priſoner in his own houſe; Lenox choſe to retire to France, where he ſoon after died. Yet though relieved from the immediate dread of theſe enemies, the confederated lords were alarmed by the ambaſſadors of France, who declared their errand was to procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots: what increaſed their alarm was, that the Engliſh ambaſſadors, though they had congratulated James on being delivered from the pernicious counſels of Arran and Lenox, ſeemed to concur with the French in this propoſal. The queen of Scots, hearing of James's detention, had written a letter to Elizabeth in a more pathetic and ſpirited ſtrain than uſual; ſhe obſerved, that the extreme infelicity ſhe had experienced in captivity, made her the more apprehenſive that a like fate ſhould purſue her unhappy offſpring; that the rigour of her confinement had been multiplied upon her, till they ſurpaſſed the bounds of all human patience; that the bitterneſs of her ſorrows, ſtill more than her cloſe confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the unſufferable weight of bodily infirmity, to all other calamities under which ſhe laboured, that could ſhe ever be induced to deſcend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which ſhe would appeal from all her enemies; to the juſtice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breaſt, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counſel, ſhe would naturally be induced to exerciſe towards her: and that ſhe finally entreated her to reſume her natural diſpoſition, and to reflect on the ſupport, as well as comfort, which ſhe might receive from her ſon and herſelf, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, ſhe would deign to raiſe them from their preſent melancholy ſituation, and reinſtate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled.

As age and infirmities had increaſed, the wiſhes of

of Mary had become more humble: ſhe propoſed that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon in the title to the crown of Scotland; but that the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in him: ſhe was content to live in England even under a kind of reſtraint; but Elizabeth was ſecretly determined to deny her requeſts; as her own creatures had acquired poſſeſſion of the government, ſhe was reſolved to throw the odium of refuſal of them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of ſtate in Scotland, ſhe ordered her ambaſſador, Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her aſſociation with her ſon in the title to the crown. Though ſhe ſeemed to make this conceſſion to Mary, ſhe refuſed her the liberty of ſending any ambaſſador of her own; and that princeſs could eaſily conjecture from this circumſtance what would be the reſult of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland, inſtigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an aſſociation with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than ſome looſe propoſals for that purpoſe.

The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the preſent ſituation. James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, ſummoned his friends and partiſans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened to pay their duty to their ſovereign; and the oppoſite party found themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgement of their fault in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted the terms: The greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth.

The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their reſiſtance they had thrown all power into the hands of a perſon whoſe counſels were as violent at his manners were profligate.

A. D. 1584. The violent conduct of Arran ſoon brought over the popularity to the ſide of the baniſhed lords. Gowry himſelf, though pardoned for the late attempt, had been tried on ſome new accuſation and executed; but the other conſpirators prevailed in an attempt on Stirling, were admitted into the king's preſence and favour; while Arran was degraded from authority, and deprived of the eſtate and title that he had uſurped.

Elizabeth had ſent Walſingham on pretence of an embaſſy, to penetrate the character of James; this veteran miniſter was deceived by the talents of James for converſation, and tranſmitted a more favourable account of his abilities than he was found afterwards to merit: influenced by this report, Elizabeth treated James with increaſe of reſpect; and perhaps ſhe was not only influenced to this conduct by his riſing reputation, but by her dread of the catholics, who ſtill continued their hoſtile intrigues. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid, and though, on his trial, he was deſirous of retracting this confeſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted this conſpiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was ſent into Spain, to excuſe his diſmiſſion, and to deſire the king to ſend another ambaſſador in his place: but

but Philip would not ſo much as admit the Engliſh ambaſſador to his preſence. Creighton, a Scottiſh jeſuit, coming over on board a veſſel which was ſeized, tore ſome papers, with an intention of throwing them into the ſea, but the wind blowing them back upon the ſhip, they were pieced together, and diſcovered ſome dangerous ſecrets.

Many of theſe conſpiracies were, with great appearance of reaſon, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the danger of her claims, and the reſtleſs activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that truſt, had alſo been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe: and ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of ſir Amias Paulet and ſir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An aſſociation was alſo ſet on foot by the earl of Leiceſter and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the ſubſcription of it. The purport of this aſſociation was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed againſt her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title ſoever they might poſſeſs, by whoſe ſuggeſtion or for whoſe behoof any violence ſhould be offered to her majeſty. The queen of Scots was ſenſible that this aſſociation was levelled againſt her; and to remove all ſuſpicion from herſelf, ſhe alſo deſired leave to ſubſcribe it.

The aſſociation was confirmed by the parliament; a clauſe was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who ſhould attempt or imagine any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination againſt her: upon condemnation, pronounced by

theſe commiſſioners, the guilty perſon was excluded from all claim to the ſucceſſion, and was farther puniſhable as her majeſty ſhould direct. And for greater ſecurity, a council of regency, in caſe of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and to take vengeance for that act of treaſon.

A law was alſo enacted, ordering jeſuits or popiſh prieſts to depart the kingdom within forty days. By this law the exerciſe of the catholic religion was totally ſuppreſſed: the catholics might now with juſtice complain of a violent perſecution; and even thoſe who defend the queen's meaſures, allow that in ten years fifty prieſts were executed, and fifty-five baniſhed.

The parliament, beſides arming the queen with theſe powers, granted her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. But at the ſame time an application was made by the commons for a farther reform in eccleſiaſtical matters: they were content to direct their humble petition to the houſe of lords, or rather to the biſhops who had a ſeat in that houſe. The moſt material article which they touched upon, was the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, enacted by that court.

Whitgift, a zealous clergyman, who had been raiſed to the primacy in 1583, had informed the queen, that all the ſpiritual authority lodged in the prelates was inſufficient to controul the nonconformiſts without the ſanction of the crown. As there was no commiſſion at that time in force, ſhe iſſued a new one more arbitrary than any of the former. The commiſſioners were empowered to reform all errors and hereſies, and to regulate opinions by the rack, by torture, and by impriſonment: where they found reaſon to ſuſpect any perſon, they might adminiſter to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to anſwer all queſtions, and might therefore be obliged to accuſe himſelf or his moſt intimate

intimate friend. The fines which they levied were at diſcretion; the impriſonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleaſure. Yet though the commons had touched gently and ſubmiſſively on the grievances which aroſe from this court, the queen reproved them for their preſumption in the ſterneſt manner: ſhe told them, that ſhe meant to guide her people by God's rule, and the juſt mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern ſectaries: and that as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and under colour of preaching the word of God, preſumed to exerciſe their private judgment, and to cenſure the actions of the prince.

From the whole of this tranſaction we may obſerve, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in ſome particular articles of their petition, ſhowed themſelves wholly ignorant, no leſs than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal conſtitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, ſo far from yielding to the diſpleaſure of the parliament againſt the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commiſſion; in which ſhe enlarged, rather than reſtrained, the powers of the commiſſioners.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, a conſpiracy was diſcovered which increaſed the animoſity againſt the catholics. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was expoſed to capital puniſhment: in his travels on the continent, he was perſuaded by the jeſuits that it would be a meritorious act to attempt the life of his benefactreſs: the ungrateful and bloody deſign received the ſanction of the pope, in a letter from cardinal Como; and Parry returned to England to execute it. Yet ſome remaining ſentiments of morality induced this bigotted aſſaſſin,

before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the perſecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; aſſured her that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her; and exhorted her, as ſhe tendered her life, to give the Romaniſts ſome more indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion: but, leſt he ſhould be tempted by the opportunity to aſſaſſinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offenſive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and having made a vehement harangue againſt the ſevere laws enacted this laſt ſeſſion, was committed to cuſtody for his freedom, and ſequeſtered from the houſe. His failure in theſe attempts confirmed him the more in his former reſolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealouſly into the deſign, and was determined to have a ſhare in the merits of its execution. A book newly publiſhed by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, ſerved farther to efface all their ſcruple with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and having agreed to ſhoot the queen while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback, they reſolved, if they could not make their eſcape, to ſacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty ſo agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpoſe, the earl of Weſtmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen, he might recover the eſtate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the whole conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry being thrown into priſon, confeſſed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all queſtion; and that criminal having received ſentence

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of death, ſuffered the puniſhment which the law appointed for his treaſonable conſpiracy.

About the ſame time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook a ſimilar deſign againſt the prince of Orange; and that great man periſhed at Delft, by the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin. The rapid progreſs of the Spaniſh arms rendered the Flemings more ſenſible of the loſs of ſo powerful a leader; the only hopes that aroſe to them was the proſpect of foreign ſuccour: from A. D. 1585. France they could expect nothing; the duke of Anjou was no more; and the authority of Henry was overwhelmed by the dangerous pretenſions of the league; their laſt reliance was on Elizabeth; and they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to London, offering to acknowledge her as their ſovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and aſſiſtance. The ſituation was delicate; and while part of the queen's miniſters urged the impropriety of openly encouraging rebellion, and the danger of drawing upon her the whole force of Spain; other counſellors inſiſted that no choice was left whether to embrace the friendſhip or hoſtility of Philip; that the ſole aim of that prince was the entire ſubjection of the proteſtants; and that the maritime power of the provinces, when united to the queen's, would give her entire ſecurity on the ſide from which alone ſhe could be aſſaulted; and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies.

Amidſt theſe oppoſite counſels the queen, apprehenſive of the conſequences attending each extreme, was inclined to ſteer a middle courſe; and though ſuch conduct is ſeldom prudent, ſhe was not, in this reſolution, guided by any prejudice or miſtaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without oppoſition, the total ſubjection of the revolted provinces, whoſe intereſts ſhe deemed ſo cloſely connected with her own: but foreſeeing that the acceptance of their ſovereignty would oblige

her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expoſe her to the reproach of ambition and uſurpation, imputations which hitherto ſhe had carefully avoided, ſhe immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: that ſhe ſhould ſend over an army to their aſſiſtance, of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expences ſhould be refunded after the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and the Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould, in the mean time, be conſigned into her hands by way of ſecurity.

Though the queen, in embracing this meaſure, ſhewed that ſhe was not terrified by the apparent greatneſs of Philip, yet ſuch prepoſſeſſions were entertained concerning the force of the Spaniſh monarchy, that the king of Sweden ſcrupled not to ſay, that Elizabeth had now taken the diadem from her head, and adventured it on the doubtful chance of war. That princeſs prepared, however, with vigour for the conteſt; the earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland at the head of the auxiliary forces: he was received on his arrival at Fluſhing by his nephew ſir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he paſſed expreſſed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his preſence and the queen's protection had brought them the moſt certain deliverance. The States, deſirous of engaging Elizabeth ſtill farther in their defence, and knowing the intereſt which Leiceſter poſſeſſed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in ſome reſpects as their ſovereign. But this ſtep had a contrary effect to what they expected. The

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queen was diſpleaſed with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leiceſter. She ſeverely reprimanded both; and it was with ſome difficulty, that after many humble ſubmiſſions they were able to appeaſe her.

America was regarded as the chief ſource of Philip's power, as well as the moſt defenceleſs part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, reſolved not to leave him unmoleſted in that quarter. The great ſucceſs of the Spaniards and Portugueſe in both Indies had excited a ſpirit of emulation in England: and as the progreſs of commerce, ſtill more that of colonies, is ſlow and gradual, it was happy that a war in this critical period had opened a more flattering proſpect to the avarice and ambition of the Engliſh, and had tempted them, by the view of ſudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterpriſes. A fleet of twenty ſail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies: two thouſand three hundred volunteers, beſides ſeamen, engaged on board of it; ſir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Chriſtopher Carliſle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by ſurpriſe; and found in it plenty of proviſions, but no riches. They ſailed to Hiſpaniola; and eaſily making themſelves maſter of St. Domingo by aſſault, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom their houſes by a ſum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after ſome more reſiſtance, and was treated in the ſame manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coaſt of Florida. Sailing along the coaſt of Virginia, they found the ſmall remains of a colony which had been planted there by ſir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the firſt attempt of the Engliſh to form ſuch ſettlements; and though they have ſince ſurpaſſed all European nations, both in the ſituation of their colonies and in the noble principles of liberty and induſtry, on which they

are founded; they had here been ſo unſucceſsful, that the miſerable planters abandoned their ſettlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with ſo much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in thoſe countries, as ſerved extremely to inflame the ſpirits of the nation to future enterpriſes. The great mortality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is uſual, but a feeble reſtraint on the avidity and ſanguine hopes of young adventurers. It is thought that Drake's fleet firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into England.

A. D. 1586. The enterpriſes of Leiceſter were leſs ſucceſsful than thoſe of Drake; though he threw ſuccours into Grave, that place was ſurrendered by the cowardice of the governor; Venlo capitulated; and Huys was taken by aſſault. To divert the prince of Parma from the ſiege of Rhimberg, Leiceſter ſat down before Zutphen, which the Spaniſh general haſtened to relieve. He made the marquis of Gueſto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of Engliſh cavalry, a furious action enſued, in which the Spaniards were worſted, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was ſlain. The purſuit was ſtopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spaniſh army; and the Engliſh cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compenſated by the loſs of ſir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the ſoldiers, and ſoon after died. This perſon is deſcribed by the writers of that age as the moſt perfect model of an accompliſhed gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite converſation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred

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to render him the ornament and delight of the Engliſh court; and as the credit which he poſſeſſed with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter, was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praiſes have been tranſmitted with advantage to poſterity. No perſon was ſo low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this laſt action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirſt; but obſerving a ſoldier near him in a like miſerable condition, he ſaid, *This man's neceſſity is ſtill greater than mine*; and reſigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, ſtruck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verſes, which he compoſed on the death of that young hero.

Theſe diſaſters were imputed to the want of abilities in Leiceſter: the States were not only diſcontented with his management of the war, but with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redreſs of all their grievances; but that nobleman, without giving them any ſatisfaction, departed ſoon after for England.

The queen while ſhe provoked ſo powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to ſecure herſelf on the ſide of Scotland. She had formerly diſpatched Wotton as her ambaſſador to James; who, while he pretended only to entertain the king with facetious converſation, formed, it is pretended, a conſpiracy with ſome malcontents to ſeize his perſon, and probably to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth: the conſpiracy was detected; and Wotton fled haſtily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king.

James's ſituation obliged him to diſſemble his reſentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him ſoon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a ſtrict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's

prince's friendſhip, ſhe granted him a penſion equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the counteſs of Lenox, lately deceaſed. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was ſtipulated, that if Elizabeth were invaded, James ſhould aid her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like caſe, ſhould ſend to his aſſiſtance three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince who demanded aſſiſtance; that if the invaſion ſhould be made upon England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom ſhould march its whole force to the aſſiſtance of the former; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign kingdom, ſo far as religion was concerned.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Babington's Conſpiracy.—Mary aſſents to it.—The Conſpirators ſeized and executed.—Trial of the Queen of Scots.—Sentence againſt Mary.—Her Execution.—Her Character.—Artifice of Elizabeth.—Drake deſtroys the Spaniſh Fleet at Cadiz.—Philip projects the Invaſion of England.—Invincible Armada.—Preparations in England.—Defeat of the Armada.—Expedition againſt Portugal.—Affairs of France.—Naval Enterpriſes againſt Spain.—A Parliament.—Character and Conduct of the Earl of Eſſex.—Death and Character of Lord Burleigh.

A. D. 1586. THE rigour with which Mary was treated, impelled her to the greateſt extremities againſt Elizabeth. The zeal of the catholics conſpired with her reſentment; the aſſaſſination of heretical ſovereigns was repreſented as the moſt meritorious of all ſervices; and inſtigated by this doctrine, John Savage, a man of deſperate courage, arrived in England to attempt the life of the queen.

About the ſame time Ballard, a Romiſh prieſt, had from the diſcontents of the catholic devotees, formed a deſign of reſtoring by force of arms the catholic religion. He was encouraged to hope for ſuccours from the pope, the Spaniards, and the duke of Guiſe; he came over to England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, and aſſumed the name of captain Forteſcue; conſcious that as long as Elizabeth lived, it was in vain to expect any ſucceſs from an enterpriſe upon England, he bent his endeavours to effect at once an aſſaſſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion.

The

The firſt perſon to whom he addreſſed himſelf, was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby. This young gentleman, poſſeſſed of a plentiful fortune, and was accompliſhed in literature beyond moſt of his years and ſtation. He had been early confirmed in his zeal for Mary, by a letter which ſhe had written to him full of friendſhip and confidence; and when Ballard opened to him the deſign undertaken by Savage, he only thought it not ſecure enough when entruſted to a ſingle hand, and propoſed to join five others in the deſperate enterpriſe.

At the ſame inſtant when Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated, Babington undertook with a party of a hundred horſe, to attack the guards of the queen of Scots while ſhe ſhould be taking the air; and he employed Gifford, a ſeminary prieſt, to communicate the deſign to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation; but Gifford had already ſold himſelf to Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, whom he ſuffered to take copies of the letters he carried, and the anſwers he received. In a letter of Babington's, he informed Mary of the deſign laid for a foreign invaſion, the plan for an inſurrection at home, the ſcheme for her deliverance, and the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the uſurper, by ſix noble gentlemen as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cauſe, and her majeſty's ſervice, would undertake the *tragical execution.* Mary replied, that ſhe approved highly of the deſign; that the gentleman might expect all the rewards which it ſhould ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a neceſſary circumſtance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an inſurrection.

The arreſting of Ballard, however, awakened the conſpirators from their deluſive ſecurity. They all took to flight, covered themſelves with ſeveral diſguiſes, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but

were ſoon diſcovered, and thrown into priſon. In their examinations they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confeſſion of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed: of whom ſeven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the reſt were convicted by evidence.

The leſſer conſpirators being diſpatched, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots; though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to Mary had been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great ſurpriſe to her, when ſir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were diſcovered and arreſted. He choſe the time for giving her this intelligence when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting; and ſhe was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the laſt ſtage of her trial and ſufferings. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arreſted; all her papers were ſeized, and ſent up to the council; about ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered: there were alſo found many letters from perſons beyond ſea, and ſeveral too from Engliſh noblemen, containing expreſſions of reſpect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, knowing their correſpondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themſelves thenceforth the moſt inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.

It was reſolved to try Mary, not by the common ſtatute of treaſon, but by the act which had paſſed the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commiſſion,

miſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy-counſellors, and empowered them to examine and paſs ſentence on Mary, whom ſhe denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commiſſioners came to Fotheringay caſtle, and ſent to her ſir Walter Mildmay, ſir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commiſſion, and of the approaching trial.

Mary, though ſurprized at this meſſage, was not unmindful of her dignity; ſhe proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſhe was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. She obſerved, that though ſhe had lived in England for many years, ſhe had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, ſhe could not, merely by her involuntary reſidence in the country, be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction: that, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of her rank, ſhe was willing to give an account of her conduct before an Engliſh parliament; but could not view theſe commiſſioners in any other light than as men appointed to juſtify, by ſome colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that ſhe warned them to look to their conſcience and their character, in trying an innocent perſon; and to reflect, that theſe tranſactions would ſomewhere be ſubject to reviſal, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

In return, the commiſſioners ſent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her impriſonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though ſhe ſhould refuſe to anſwer before them. Burleigh the treaſurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reaſoning to make her ſubmit; but the perſon whoſe arguments had the chief influence was ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His ſpeech was to this purpoſe: "You are accuſed madam," ſaid he, "but

"not

" not condemned, of having conſpired the deſtruc-
" tion of our lady and queen anointed. You ſay
" you are a queen: but in ſuch a crime as this, and
" ſuch a ſituation as yours, the royal dignity itſelf,
" neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the law
" of nature or of nations, is exempt from judgment.
" If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation
" in avoiding a trial. We have been preſent at
" your proteſtations of innocence: but queen Eli-
" zabeth thinks otherwiſe; and is heartily ſorry for
" the appearances which lie againſt you. To ex-
" amine, therefore, your cauſe, ſhe has appointed
" commiſſioners; honourable perſons, prudent and
" upright men, who are ready to hear you with
" equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if
" you can clear yourſelf of the imputations which
" have been thrown upon you. Believe me, ma-
" dam, the queen herſelf will rejoice, who affirmed
" to me at my departure, that nothing which ever
" befel her had given her ſo much uneaſineſs, as
" that you ſhould be ſuſpected of a concurrence in
" theſe criminal enterpriſes. Laying aſide, there-
" fore, the fruitleſs claim of privilege from your
" royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing,
" truſt to the better defence of your innocence,
" make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon
" your memory that ſtain of infamy which muſt at-
" tend your obſtinate ſilence on this occaſion."

By this artful ſpeech, Mary was prevailed to plead before the court, though at her appearance before the judges, ſhe took care to proteſt, that in condeſcending to give an anſwer to the accuſations which ſhould be brought againſt her, ſhe neither acknowledged the juriſdiction of the court, nor admitted of the validity or juſtice of thoſe acts by which they pretended to try her. This was followed by a counter proteſtation of the chancellor, who endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court.

Copies of Mary's letters to Mendoza and Babington were then produced; and the confeſſions of the

conſpirators, with the declarations of Nau and Curle, her ſecretaries, were read; and the whole heightened by the colourings of legal eloquence.

Mary liſtened, without emotion, to the harangues of the lawyers; but at the mention of the earl of Arundel's name, who was then confined in the Tower, ſhe broke out into this tender and generous exclamation: "Alas! how much has the noble "houſe of Howard ſuffered for my ſake."

When the queen's counſel had finiſhed, Mary with real magnanimity of mind began her defence. She abſolutely denied any correſpondence with Babington or Ballard. Copies only of her pretended letters were produced, though nothing leſs than her hand writing ought to convict her of ſo odious a crime. No proof was brought that the letters had ever been delivered into her hands, or that any anſwer was returned by her direction; the confeſſions of wretches condemned for ſuch an execrable deſign might be procured by the hopes of pardon; and the declarations of her ſecretaries might be extorted by fear of puniſhment. She acknowledged that ſhe had often made efforts for the recovery of her liberty; but that ſhe abhorred the deteſtable crime of aſſaſſination; and if ever ſhe had given conſent by words or even by thoughts, to any attempt againſt the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of man, ſhe ſhould not even pray for the mercy of God.

Two different days did Mary appear before the judges, and in every part of her behaviour maintained the magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the gentleneſs and modeſty of a woman.

The commiſſioners, by Elizabeth's expreſs command, adjourned without pronouncing any ſentence to the ſtar-chamber in Weſtminſter; and there unanimouſly declared Mary "to be acceſſary to Babing-"ton's conſpiracy, and to have imagined diverſe "matters tending to the hurt, death, and deſtruc-"tion of Elizabeth, contrary to the expreſs words of

"of the ſtatute made for the ſecurity of the "queen's life." The ſame day a declaration was publiſhed, that the ſentence did no ways derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland.

The irregularities in this trial were great and flagrant. If the teſtimony of Babington and his aſſociates was ſo explicit, why did not Elizabeth ſpare them for a few weeks, and confront them with Mary? and why were not Nau and Curle, her ſecretaries, produced in perſon at Fotheringhay, as Mary demanded?

A few days after the ſentence was pronounced againſt Mary, the parliament ratified the proceedings of the commiſſioners by whom ſhe had been tried; and preſented an addreſs to the queen, beſeeching her, as ſhe regarded her own ſafety, and the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, to inflict without delay, on a rival no leſs irreclaimable than dangerous, the puniſhment which ſhe had merited by ſo many crimes. Affecting clemency, Elizabeth deſired them to reflect, whether it was poſſible to find any expedient beſides the death of the queen of Scots, for ſecuring the public tranquillity; but they anſwered that mercy to Mary was cruelty to them, her ſubjects, and their children.

All the princes of Europe obſerved the proceedings againſt Mary with aſtoniſhment and horror. They pleaded from juſtice, from generoſity and humanity; they intermingled threats with reproaches; but Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable; nor did ſhe even pay any greater regard to the ſolicitations of the Scottiſh king.

James could not at firſt believe that Elizabeth would venture on an action which tended to degrade the regal dignity, of which ſhe was remarkably jealous; but convinced at length that ſhe was in earneſt, he wrote to her with his own hand, complaining in the bittereſt terms of her conduct; not without threats that his honour would oblige him to

renonnce her friendſhip, and to act as became a ſon, to revenge his mother's wrongs. At the ſame time he aſſembled the nobles, who promiſed to ſtand by him in ſo good a cauſe. He appointed ambaſſadors to France, Spain, and Denmark, in order to implore the aid of theſe courts; and took other ſteps towards executing his threats with vigour.

Elizabeth, though enraged by his letter, was embarraſſed by his preparations; ſhe therefore promiſed to liſten to any overture from the king; and to ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence until the arrival of new ambaſſadors from Scotland.

In the mean while ſhe commanded the ſentence againſt Mary to be publiſhed; aſſerting, that it was extorted from her by the intreaty of both houſes of parliament: ſhe alſo informed her royal captive, that though ſhe had not hitherto yielded to the ſolicitations of the people, yet ſhe adviſed her to prepare for an event which might become neceſſary for ſecuring the proteſtant religion.

Mary received the intelligence with becoming fortitude: "I am proud," ſaid ſhe, "to think that "my life is deemed of importance to the catholic "religion; and as a martyr for it, I am now wil-"ling to die." She rejected a proteſtant biſhop that was offered to attend her; and without any clergyman to direct her devotions, ſhe prepared for that death, which ſhe now believed was at no great diſtance.

A. D. 1587. James, without loſing a moment, ſent new ambaſſadors to London: theſe were the maſter of Gray, and ſir Robert Melvil. The laſt executed his commiſſion with fidelity and zeal, and loudly urged the indignation of Scotland: but the firſt deceived his maſter, and betrayed the queen whom he was employed to ſave; he encouraged Elizabeth to execute the ſentence againſt her rival, and undertook to prevent any violent effects from James's reſentment.

While the determination of Elizabeth was awaited, England was agitated by rumours artfully invented and

and induſtriouſly propagated. One day it was ſaid, that the Spaniſh fleet was arrived at Milford Haven; on another, that the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex; and a conſpiracy, it was whiſpered, was on foot for ſeizing the queen, and burning the city.

It was amidſt the panic and indignation occaſioned by theſe reports, that Elizabeth thought that ſhe might venture on the blow ſhe had ſo long meditated. She at laſt called Daviſon, a man of parts, but eaſy to be impoſed on, and who had lately for that very reaſon been made ſecretary, and ſhe ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, ſhe afterwards ſaid, ſhe intended to keep by her, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the deliverance of that princeſs. She ſigned the warrant; and then commanded Daviſon to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal appended to it. Next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, enjoining him to forbear, ſome time, executing her former orders; and when Daviſon came and told her that the warrant had already paſſed the great ſeal, ſhe ſeemed to be ſomewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, being in a perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole tranſaction; and they endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend off Beale with the warrant: if the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure. The ſecretary, not ſufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was diſpatched to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, and ſome others, ordering them to ſee the ſentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

The two earls came to Fotheringay caſtle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion, and deſired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She ſeemed nowiſe terrified, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed, with the

intelligence. She ſaid, with a cheerful, and even a ſmiling countenance, that ſhe did not think the queen, her ſiſter, would have conſented to her death, or have executed the ſentence againſt a perſon, not ſubject to the laws and juriſdiction of England. "But as ſuch is her will," ſaid ſhe, "death, which "puts an end to all my miſeries, ſhall be to me "moſt welcome; nor can I eſteem that ſoul worthy "the felicities of heaven, which cannot ſupport the "body under the horrors of the laſt paſſage to theſe "bliſsful manſions." She then requeſted the two noblemen, that they would permit ſome of her ſervants, and particularly her confeſſor, to attend her: but they told her, that compliance with this laſt demand was contrary to their conſcience, and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, ſhould be preſent to inſtruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refuſal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, ſhe conſtantly denied his conſpiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs ſhe reſigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her, ſhe ſat down to table and ſupped ſparingly, though with cheerfulneſs. Towards the end of ſupper, ſhe called in all her ſervants, and drank to them: they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of their duty: ſhe deigned, in return, to aſk their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveneſs.

Towards the morning, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet, and being informed by the ſheriff of the county that the hour of execution was come, ſhe paſſed into another hall where was erected

erected the ſcaffold, covered with black, and ſhe ſaw with undiſmayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. At this moment the dean of Peterborow ſtepped forth, and under pretence of endeavouring her converſion, expoſed her to the moſt mortifying reproaches. Mary heard him with impatience, and repeated her reſolution to die in the faith in which ſhe had been educated.

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to diſrobe herſelf; and the executioner alſo lent his hand to aſſiſt them. She ſmiled, and ſaid, that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants ſeeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burſt into tears and lamentations: She turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them; and having given them a bleſſing, deſired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom ſhe had appointed for that purpoſe, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; ſhe laid herſelf down without any ſign of fear or trepidation: and her head was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes by the executioner. He inſtantly held it up to the ſpectators, ſtreaming with blood, and agitated with the convulſions of death: the dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's ene-"mies!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other ſpectators was fixed on the melancholy ſcene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to preſent pity and admiration of the expiring princeſs.

Thus periſhed, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary, queen of Scots; a woman of great accompliſhments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her perſon, and graces of her air, combined to make her the moſt amiable of women; and the charms of

her addreſs and converſation aided the impreſſion which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulneſs and ſociety; of a lofty ſpirit, conſtant, even vehement, in her purpoſe, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; ſhe ſeemed to partake only ſo much of the male virtues as to render her eſtimable, without relinquiſhing thoſe ſoft graces which compoſe the proper ornament of her ſex. In order to form a juſt idea of her character, we muſt ſet aſide one part of her conduct, while ſhe abandoned herſelf to the guidance of a profligate man; and muſt conſider theſe faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the reſult of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconſtancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of paſſion, and of the influence which ſituations, and ſometimes momentary incidents, have on perſons whoſe principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her huſband, ſeduced by the treacherous counſels of one in whom ſhe repoſed confidence, tranſported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay ſufficiently under the guidance of diſcretion, ſhe was betrayed into actions which may with ſome difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct muſt in ſome parts wear the aſpect of ſevere ſatire and invective.

Her numerous misfortunes, the ſolitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the perſecutions to which ſhe had been expoſed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and ſuch were the prevalent ſpirit and principles of the age, that it is the leſs wonder if her zeal, her reſentment, and her intereſt uniting, induced her to give conſent to a

deſign

deſign which the conſpirators, actuated only by the firſt of theſe motives, had formed againſt the life of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth affected to receive the account of Mary's death with the moſt violent emotions of ſurpriſe and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and mourning, were all employed on the occaſion. She wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, expreſſing her affliction at what had happened ſo contrary to her intention; and the better to appeaſe James, ſhe committed Daviſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the ſtar-chamber for his miſdemeanor. The ſecretary was confounded; and being ſenſible of the danger which muſt attend his entering into a conteſt with the queen; he expreſſed penitence for his error, and ſubmitted very patiently to be railed at by thoſe very counſellors whoſe perſuaſion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promiſed to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds. He remained a long time in cuſtody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorouſly levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen was ſending him ſmall ſupplies from time to time to keep him from periſhing in neceſſity. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walſingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambaſſadors, he ſaid, had been remonſtrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure ſhe commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princeſs. She ſigned it readily, and ordered it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England. She appeared in ſuch good humour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is "now ſick: Though I fear he will die of ſorrow "when he hears of it." She added, that though ſhe had ſo long delayed the execution, leſt ſhe ſhould

be actuated by malice or cruelty, ſhe was all along ſenſible of the neceſſity of it. In the ſame converſation ſhe blamed Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eaſed her of this trouble; and ſhe expreſſed her deſire that Walſingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was ſo bent on this purpoſe, that ſome time after ſhe aſked Daviſon, whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the ſervice expected of him? Daviſon ſhowed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman poſitively refuſed to act any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice. The queen fell into a paſſion; and accuſed Paulet as well as Drury of perjury; becauſe, having taken the oath of aſſociation, in which they had bound themſelves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refuſed to lend their hand on this occaſion. "But others," ſhe ſaid, "will be found leſs ſcrupulous." Daviſon adds, that nothing but the conſent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to ſend off the warrant: He was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh.

Elizabeth's diſſimulation was too groſs to have much effect; James, as well as his nobles, at firſt breathed nothing but revenge; but when the former conſidered the ſuperior force of England, and that by engaging in a fruitleſs war he might deprive himſelf of a noble inheritance, he was induced to ſtifle his reſentments, to appear ſatisfied with the puniſhment inflicted on Daviſon: and to preſerve all the ſemblances of friendſhip with the Engliſh court.

While Elizabeth enſured tranquility from the attempts of her neareſt neighbour, ſhe was not negligent of more diſtant danger. She commiſſioned Drake with thirty ſhips to attack the coaſt of Spain; and that gallant officer having learned that a rich Spaniſh fleet was lying at Cadiz, entered the harbour,

and burned a hundred veſſels, laden with ammunition and naval ſtores; while ſir Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman of Devonſhire, who had diſſipated a good eſtate by living at court, being reſolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of ſixty, and a third of forty; and with theſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen veſſels, ſome of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and ſoldiers were clothed in ſilk, his ſails were of damaſk, his top-ſail cloth of gold; and his prizes were eſteemed the richeſt that ever had been brought into England.

The Engliſh were not ſucceſsful by land. In the Low Countries, Deventer was betrayed to, and Sluys taken by the Spaniards. The arrogance of Leiceſter diſguſted the Hollanders; but the queen who knew the importance of her alliance with the States, recalled him; Maurice, ſon of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the Engliſh forces. The meaſures of theſe two generals were much embarraſſed by the malignity of Leiceſter, who had left a faction behind him, and who ſtill attempted, by means of his emiſſaries, to diſturb all the operations of the States. As ſoon as Elizabeth received intelligence of theſe diſorders, ſhe took care to redreſs them; and ſhe obliged all the partiſans of England to fall into unanimity with prince Maurice. But though her good ſenſe ſo far prevailed over her partiality to Leiceſter, ſhe never could be made fully ſenſible of his vices and incapacity: the ſubmiſſions which he made her reſtored him to her wonted favour; and lord Buckhurſt, who had accuſed him of miſconduct in Holland,

land, loſt her confidence for ſome time, and was even committed to cuſtody.

Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was another favourite who at this time received ſome marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profeſſion of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley deceaſed; but notwithſtanding all the expectations and perhaps wiſhes of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high ſtation: His good natural capacity ſupplied the place of experience and ſtudy; and his deciſions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his abſence from court, while he attended the buſineſs of chancery; would gradually eſtrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

A. D. 1588. The cabals of the court were ſilenced by the preparations made by the Spaniards for the invaſion of England. Philip had long harboured a violent deſire of revenge againſt Elizabeth. His ambition was encouraged by the conqueſt of Portugal, the acquiſition of the Eaſt India commerce and ſettlements, and the yearly importation of vaſt treaſures from America. Could he ſubdue Elizabeth, he hoped to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole chriſtian world in the catholic communion; and if he ſucceeded againſt England, the enterpriſe muſt be followed by the immediate ſubjection of the Hollanders, who would be deprived of all ſupport. Theſe motives engaged him to proceed immediately to the execution of this ambitious proſpect. In all his ports artizans were employed in building veſſels of uncommon ſize and force; naval ſtores were bought up, proviſions amaſſed, armies levied, and plans were laid for fitting out ſuch a fleet, and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of ſharing in this great enterpriſe; and

and the Spaniards, oſtentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the *invincible Armada*.

The force of Elizabeth ſeemed very unequal to reſiſt ſo potent an enemy. All the ſailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thouſand men. The ſize of the Engliſh ſhipping was in general ſo ſmall, that except a few of the queen's ſhips of war, there were not four veſſels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail, many of which were of ſmall ſize; and none of them exceeded the bulk of our largeſt frigates, and moſt of them deſerved rather the name of pinnaces than of ſhips. The only advantage of the Engliſh fleet conſiſted in the dexterity and courage of the ſeamen, who, being accuſtomed to ſail in tempeſtuous ſeas, and expoſe themſelves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spaniſh marines, as their veſſels were inferior in ſize and force to thoſe of that nation. All the commercial towns of England were required to furniſh ſhips for reinforcing this ſmall navy; and they diſcovered on the preſent occaſion great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion againſt thoſe imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to ſhew their zeal in the common cauſe, inſtead of fifteen veſſels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ſhips at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the perſons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The principal fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth. A ſmaller ſquadron, conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, was commanded by

by lord Seymour, ſecond ſon of protector Somerſet; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land forces of England, compared to thoſe of Spain, poſſeſſed contrary qualities to its naval power: they were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in diſcipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thouſand men was diſpoſed in different bodies along the ſouth coaſt; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waſte the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring countries, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, was ſtationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and was commanded by lord Hunſdon. Theſe forces were reſerved for guarding the queen's perſon; and were appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy ſhould appear. The fate of England, if all the Spaniſh armies ſhould be able to land, ſeemed to depend on the iſſue of a ſingle battle; and men of reflexion entertained the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, when they conſidered the force of fifty thouſand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the moſt conſummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long diſuſed to war, could muſter up againſt it.

The chief ſupport of the kingdom ſeemed to be the prudence of the queen's conduct. She ſecured the alliance of James by promiſes which ſhe never fulfilled, a dukedom in England, and a ſettlement of 5000l. a year; ſhe conducted herſelf with the greateſt moderation towards the catholics; ſhe reminded the people of their former danger from the tyranny

of

of Spain; ſhe ſet before their eyes the bloody maſſacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries. And the more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, diſcovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the ſoldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and profeſſed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herſelf into the field againſt the enemy, and rather to periſh in battle than ſurvive the ruin and ſlavery of her people. By this ſpirited behaviour ſhe revived the tenderneſs and admiration of the ſoldiery: an attachment to her perſon became a kind of enthuſiaſm among them: and they aſked one another, whether it were poſſible that Engliſhmen could abandon this glorious cauſe, could diſplay leſs fortitude than appeared in the female ſex, or could ever by any dangers be induced to relinquiſh the defence of their heroic princeſs?

Yet one error had near blaſted all theſe precautions; the Spaniſh Armada on firſt ſailing from the port of Liſbon had been diſperſed by a tempeſt; and when news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded that the deſign of an invaſion was diſappointed for this ſummer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for ſaving money, ſhe made Walſingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up ſome of the larger ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen: but lord Effingham, who was not ſo ſanguine in his hopes, uſed the freedom to diſobey theſe orders: and he begged leave to retain all the ſhips in ſervice, though it ſhould be at his own expence. He took advantage of a north wind, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the ſouth, he became apprehenſive leſt they might have ſet ſail, and by paſſing him at ſea, invade England, now expoſed by the abſence of the fleet. He returned,

therefore,

therefore, with the utmoſt expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

Meanwhile, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with freſh hopes ſet out again to ſea, in proſecution of their enterpriſe. The fleet conſiſted of a hundred and thirty veſſels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater ſize than any ever before uſed in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix mariners, two thouſand and eighty-eight galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months; and was attended by twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals, and ten ſalves with ſix oars a-piece.

The duke of Medina, who commanded the Armada, informed that the Engliſh admiral had diſcharged many of his ſeamen, made ſail directly for Plymouth, in hopes of deſtroying their ſhips in harbour; and Effingham had only time to get out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh fleet advancing towards him, in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretching the diſtance of ſeven miles from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other.

Effingham gave orders not to come to cloſe fight with the Spaniards; where the ſize of the ſhips, he ſuſpected, and the numbers of the ſoldiers, would be a diſadvantage to the Engliſh; but to cannonade them at a diſtance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, muſt afford him, of intercepting ſome ſcattered veſſels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event anſwered his expectation. A great ſhip of Biſcay, on board of which was a conſiderable part of the Spaniſh money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguiſhing the flames, ſhe fell behind the reſt of the Armada: the great galleon of Andaluſia was detained by the ſpringing of her maſt: and both theſe veſſels were taken after ſome

reſiſtance, by ſir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the Engliſh hung upon its rear, and ſtill infeſted it with ſkirmiſhes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the Engliſh; and the latter ſoon found, that even in cloſe fight the ſize of the Spaniſh ſhips was no advantage to them. Their bulk expoſed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, ſhot over the heads of the Engliſh. The alarm having now reached the coaſt of England, the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their veſſels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, ſir Thomas Cecil, ſir Robert Cecil, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Vavaſor, ſir Thomas Gerard, ſir Charles Blount, with many others, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this generous and diſintereſted ſervice of their country. The Engliſh fleet, after the conjunction of thoſe ſhips, amounted to a hundred and forty ſail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and caſt anchor before that place; in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to ſea and join his forces to them. The Engliſh admiral practiſed here a ſucceſsful ſtratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and filling them with all combuſtible materials, ſent them one after another into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fireſhips of the ſame contrivance with a famous veſſel which had lately done ſo much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp: and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greateſt diſorder and precipitation. The Engliſh fell upon them next morning while in confuſion; and beſides doing great damage to other ſhips, they took or deſtroyed about twelve of the enemy.

By this time the Spaniſh admiral had found how vain were the lofty hopes he had cheriſhed; while he had loſt ſo conſiderable a part of his navy, he had

had deſtroyed only one ſmall veſſel of the Engliſh: he prepared to return homewards; and to conduct his ſhattered ſhips to Spain, by Scotland and Ireland; a violent tempeſt overtook him near the Orkneys; the mariners yielded to the fury of the ſtorm, and allowed their ſhips to drive either on the weſtern iſles of Scotland, or on the coaſt of Ireland, where they were miſerably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the ſeamen as well as ſoldiers who remained, were ſo overcome with hardſhips and fatigue, and ſo diſpirited by their diſcomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the deſperate valour of the Engliſh, and of the tempeſtuous violence of that ocean which ſurrounds them.

A. D. 1589. Soon after the diſperſion of the Armada, the parliament granted to the queen a ſupply of two ſubſidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years: this is the firſt inſtance that ſubſidies were doubled in one ſupply. The commons embraced the opportunity to endeavour at aboliſhing the right of purveyance, which was an ancient but vexatious prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleaſure take proviſions for the houſehold from the neighbouring counties. But they were ſeverely reproved for this attempt by Elizabeth, and were told, if there were any abuſes her majeſty was both able and willing to provide due reformation, but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in theſe matters.

The diſcomfiture of the Armada had begotten a kind of enthuſiaſtic paſſion for enterpriſes againſt Spain. A deſign was formed to ſupport the claim of Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, in his pretenſions to that crown. An armament was fitted out under ſir Francis Drake and ſir John Norris, partly at the expence of the queen, but chiefly by the zeal of private adventurers. In their paſſage to Portugal they burned ſome Spaniſh ſhips of war which had been

been collected at the Groine. They were joined by the young earl of Eſſex, who, fired with the love of military fame, had, unknown to the queen, ſtolen from England. But the want of ammunition and proviſions compelled them to retire from the walls of Liſbon; and the enterpriſe was terminated by the capture of Vigo, which they deſtroyed.

The jealouſy of Elizabeth towards her heir had not expired with the life of Mary. She was equally anxious to prevent James from marrying; but the impatience of that monarch broke through all her politics: diſappointed by the delays which the queen interpoſed in his hopes of eſpouſing the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, he renewed his ſuit to the younger. The ceremony was performed by proxy, and the princeſs embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a ſtorm into a port of Norway. James was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage to conduct her home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and brought her next Spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people.

Though Elizabeth had reached a ſituation where ſhe was removed from all danger of immediate revolution, her affairs ſtill required attention. In France the duke of Guiſe, after inſulting his ſovereign, had been aſſaſſinated at the command of Henry, who ſoon after fell himſelf a victim to the fanaticiſm of a Dominican friar, named Jaques Clement. The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, aſſumed the government by the title of Henry the Fourth. The prejudices entertained againſt his religion, which was proteſtant, made a great part of the nobility immediately deſert him; and it was only by his promiſe of hearkening to conferences and inſtruction, that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guiſe, gathered new force: and the king of Spain enter- A. D. 1590.

tained views, either of diſmembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances Henry addreſſed himſelf to Elizabeth, and found her well diſpoſed to contribute to his aſſiſtance, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the deſertion of his Swiſs and German auxiliaries, ſhe made him a preſent of twenty-two thouſand pounds; a greater ſum than, as he declared, he had ever ſeen before: and ſhe ſent him a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by theſe ſupplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the ſuburbs ſword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. He employed this body of Engliſh in many other enterpriſes; and ſtill found reaſon to praiſe their courage and fidelity. The time of their ſervice being elapſed, he diſmiſſed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, ſir Thomas Baſkerville, and ſir John Boroughs acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of Engliſh valour.

A.D. 1591. 1592. In the next campaign Henry gained over his enemies a pitched battle at Yvrée; yet the ſituation of his affairs did not allow the queen to diſcontinue her ſuccours. She ſent over three thouſand men, under ſir John Norris, to ſerve in the reduction of the ſea-port towns of Britanny, which had been betrayed by the duke Mercœur into the hands of the Spaniards. Henry employed theſe in expelling the leaguers from Normandy. The queen, ſo far from being offended at this change in the original plan, ſupplied him with four thouſand men more under the earl of Eſſex. Even the failure of the ſiege of Rouen, though it might damp, extinguiſhed not her zeal; ſhe reinforced the Engliſh troops in his ſervice;

ſervice; and employed at the ſame time her naval power againſt Philip. Sir Thomas Howard ſailed with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips to intercept the Spaniſh trade from the Weſt-Indies; the king of Spain, informed of his purpoſe, fitted out a great force of fifty-five ſail, and diſpatched them to eſcort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the Engliſh ſquadron; and, by the courageous obſtinacy of ſir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refuſed to make his eſcape by flight, they took one veſſel, the firſt Engliſh ſhip of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. The reſt of the ſquadron returned ſafely into England; fruſtrated of their expectation, but pleaſing themſelves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitleſs in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had been ſo long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged at laſt to ſet ſail in an improper ſeaſon, and moſt of them periſhed by ſhipwreck ere they reached the Spaniſh harbours. The earl of Cumberland made a like unſucceſsful enterpriſe againſt the Spaniſh trade. He carried out one ſhip of the queen's, and ſeven others equipped at his own expence; but the prizes which he made did not compenſate the charges.

The expence of the war obliged Eli-
zabeth to ſummon a parliament; and A. D. 1593.
her treatment of it ſufficiently ſhewed
ſhe rated her prerogative above money, or thought her authority ſo eſtabliſhed that ſhe needed to make no conceſſions in return. When ſir Edward Coke, the ſpeaker, made to her the three uſual requeſts of freedom from arreſts, of acceſs to her perſon, and of liberty of ſpeech, ſhe declared ſhe would not impeach the freedom of their perſons, nor deny them acceſs to her, provided it were upon urgent cauſes; but ſhe defined their liberty of ſpeech not to conſiſt in uttering what every one liſteth, but merely in ſaying *Aye* or *No*: and when Peter Wentworth ventured to tranſgreſs theſe imperial orders, by pro-

poſing a ſupplication to her majeſty for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown, ſhe ſent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed ſir Thomas Bromley, who had ſeconded him, to the Fleet priſon, together with Stevens and Welſh, two members to whom ſir Thomas had communicated his intention. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the houſe, to petition the queen for the releaſe of theſe members; but it was anſwered by all the privy-counſellors there preſent, that her majeſty had committed them for cauſes beſt known to herſelf, and that to preſs her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to ſerve: ſhe would releaſe them whenever ſhe thought proper, and would be better pleaſed to do it of her own proper motion, than from their ſuggeſtion. The houſe willingly acquieſced in this reaſoning.

The religious zeal of the puritans was not however ſo eaſily reſtrained; Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redreſſing the abuſes in the biſhops' courts. This motion was ſeconded by ſome members; but the miniſters and privy-counſellors oppoſed it, and foretold the conſequences which enſued. The queen ſent for the ſpeaker; and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, ſhe told him that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to diſſolve them, in her power to give aſſent or diſſent to any determination which they ſhould form: that her purpoſe in ſummoning this parliament was two-fold, to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation againſt the exorbitant power of Spain: that theſe two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: ſhe had enjoined them already by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of ſtate nor religion; and ſhe wondered how any one could be ſo aſſuming as to attempt

tempt a ſubject ſo expreſsly contrary to her prohibition: that ſhe was highly offended with this preſumption; and took the preſent opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either ſtate affairs, or reformation in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, be exhibited in the houſe: and that, in particular, ſhe charged the ſpeaker upon his allegiance, if any ſuch bills were offered, abſolutely to refuſe them a reading, and not ſo much as permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was ſubmitted to without farther queſtion. Morrice was ſeized in the houſe itſelf by a ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profeſſion as a common lawyer, and kept ſome years priſoner in Tilbury caſtle.

The commons no longer preſumed to diſpute the injunctions of the queen; they paſſed an act, that any perſon above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed during the ſpace of a month to attend public worſhip, ſhould be committed to priſon; that if after being condemned for this offence, he ſhould perſiſt three months in his refuſal, he muſt abjure the realm; and that if he either refuſe this condition, or return after baniſhment, he ſhould ſuffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy.

They alſo voted, on the propoſal of the lords, a grant of three ſubſidies, and three fifteenths; yet theſe unuſual conceſſions did not prevent them from being expoſed to ſome ſevere reprimands from the queen. She expreſſed her diſpleaſure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy-counſellors, "who," ſhe told them, "were not to be accounted "as common knights and burgeſſes of the houſe, "who are counſellors but during the parliament: "whereas the others are ſtanding counſellors, and "for their wiſdom and great ſervice are called to "the council of the ſtate." The queen alſo, in her own perſon, made the parliament a ſpirited harangue;

in which ſhe ſpoke of the juſtice and moderation of her government, expreſſed the ſmall ambition ſhe had ever entertained of making conqueſts, diſplayed the juſt grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and diſcovered how little ſhe apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he ſhould make a greater effort againſt her than that of his Invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added ſhe, "that when he attempted this laſt invaſion, "ſome upon the ſea coaſt forſook their towns, fled "up higher into the country, and left all naked and "expoſed to his entrance: but I ſwear unto you, "by God, if I knew thoſe perſons, or may know "of any that ſhall do ſo hereafter, I will make "them feel what it is to be ſo fearful in ſo urgent a "cauſe." By this menance, ſhe probably gave the people to underſtand, that ſhe would execute martial law upon ſuch cowards: for there was no ſtatute by which a man could be puniſhed for changing his place of abode.

A. D. 1594. 1596. In France Henry the Fourth had bent his opinions to the neceſſity of his affairs, had renounced the Proteſtant religion, and had been received into the boſom of the Romiſh church. Though Elizabeth affected to be diſpleaſed at this abjuration, ſhe continued to him her ſuccours both of men and money; ſhe was ſenſible that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domeſtic phyſician to the queen, being impriſoned on ſuſpicion, confeſſed that he had received a bribe to poiſon her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had ſucceeded Parma, lately deceaſed, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conſpiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of theſe diſhonourable attempts of his miniſters, but could obtain no ſatisfaction. York and Williams,

two

two Engliſh traitors, were afterwards executed for a conſpiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious.

Inſtead of avenging herſelf, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth ſought a more honourable vengeance, by ſupporting the king of France, and aſſiſting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the converſion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with ſpeedy ruin and diſſolution. Norris commanded the Engliſh forces in Britanny, and aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Breſt, towns garriſoned by Spaniſh forces. In every action, the Engliſh, though they had ſo long enjoyed domeſtic peace, diſcovered a ſtrong military diſpoſition; and the queen, though herſelf a heroine, found more frequent occaſion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution: ſir Martin Frobiſher, her brave admiral, periſhed, with many others, before Breſt. Morlaix had been promiſed to the Engliſh for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promiſe, by making it be inſerted in the capitulation, that none but catholics ſhould be admitted into that city.

Next campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hoſtilities with Philip, was at laſt provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war againſt that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invaſion in England, and with an inſurrection in Ireland, recalled moſt of her forces, and ſent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding alſo, that the French league was almoſt entirely diſſolved, and that the moſt conſiderable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, ſhe thought that he could well ſupport himſelf by his own force and valour; and ſhe began to be more ſparing in his cauſe of the blood and treaſure of her ſubjects.

About the ſame time ſhe formed a new treaty

with the States; by which they engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the Engliſh auxiliaries, computed at forty thouſand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thouſand pounds for ſome years; to aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her conſent. They alſo bound themſelves, on finiſhing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment ſhould be in lieu of all demands, and that they ſhould be ſupplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thouſand auxiliaries from England.

The queen ſtill retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the riſing power of the States; and ſhe committed the important truſt of Fluſhing to ſir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Eſſex, who expected ſo honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily riſing both in reputation with the people, and favour with herſelf, the queen, who was commonly reſerved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper on this occaſion to give him a refuſal. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was ſent over to France at the head of two thouſand Engliſh, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to ſupply that prince. Some ſtipulations for mutual aſſiſtance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

A. D. 1597. The moſt ſevere blows, however, which Elizabeth afflicted on Philip were by her naval enterpriſes. James Lancaſter, with three ſhips and a pinnace, deſtroyed thirty-nine ſhips of the enemy, and ſacked Fernambouc on the coaſt of Brazil. The expedition of ſir Walter Raleigh to diſcover the coaſt of Guiana, was leſs ſucceſsful. Having taken the ſmall town of St. Joſeph in the iſle of Trinidado, where he found

found no riches, he left his ſhip, and ſailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to anſwer his expectations. On his return, he publiſhed an account of the country, full of the groſſeſt and moſt palpable lies that were ever attempted to be impoſed on the credulity of mankind.

The Engliſh were alſo diſappointed in an attempt on Panama, under ſir Francis Drake, who, from vexation and fatigue, was ſeized with a diſtemper, which proved mortal; and they were induced by this bad ſucceſs rather to attack the Spaniſh dominions in Europe. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy veſſels, ſeventeen of which were capital ſhips of war; the reſt tenders and ſmall veſſels: twenty ſhips were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen, beſide the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Eſſex: the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both theſe commanders had expended great ſums of their own in the armament: for ſuch was the ſpirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Francis Vere, ſir George Carew, and ſir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral.

The fleet ſet ſail on the firſt of June 1596; and after a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtian's, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, it was upon deliberation, reſolved by the council of war, to attack the ſhips and gallies in the bay. The enterpriſe was deemed raſh; but was adopted on the ſtrenuous recommendations of Eſſex. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his ſafety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had ſecretly

ſecretly given orders that he ſhould not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by ſir Walter Raleigh, and lord Thomas Howard; but Eſſex no ſooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promiſe which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midſt of the fleet; he broke through and preſſed forward into the thickeſt of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animoſity againſt the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was ſoon obliged to ſlip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ſhips aground. Eſſex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the Engliſh ſoon carried ſword in hand. The generoſity of Eſſex, not inferior to his valour, made him ſtop the ſlaughter, and treat his priſoners with the greateſt humanity, and even affability and kindneſs. The Engliſh made rich plunder in the city; but miſſed of a much richer by the reſolution which the duke of Medina, the Spaniſh admiral, took of ſetting fire to the ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loſs which the Spaniards ſuſtained in this enterpriſe amounted to twenty millions of ducats; beſides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people ſuffered from the ſacking of one of their chief cities, and deſtroying in their harbour a fleet of ſuch force and value.

Eſſex inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz; and he undertook with four hundred men and three months proviſions to defend the place till ſuccours ſhould arrive from England; but all the other ſeamen and ſoldiers were ſatisfied with the honour which they had acquired; and though on their return Elizabeth admired the lofty genius of Eſſex, ſhe could not forbear expreſſing an eſteem for the other officers: ſhe even created the admiral, earl of Nottingham,

Nottingham, a promotion which gave great diſguſt to Eſſex.

That nobleman was ſoon after appointed to the command of a conſiderable armament, deſtined to intercept the Indian fleet. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was at the head of one of the ſquadrons, was ſeparated from the reſt, and arriving firſt at Fayal, one of the iſlands of the Azores, which he knew it was the intention of Eſſex to attack, he thought it more prudent, after waiting ſome time for the general, to begin the attack alone, leſt the inhabitants ſhould by farther delay have leiſure to make preparations for their defence. He ſucceeded in the enterpriſe; but Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtrued it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: he caſhiered therefore Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded Raleigh, through high-ſpirited, to make ſubmiſſions to the general. Eſſex, who was placable as well as haſty and paſſionate, was ſoon appeaſed, and both received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their command. This incident, however, though the quarrel was ſeemingly accommodated, laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity which afterwards took place between theſe two gallant commanders.

Eſſex himſelf was diſappointed in his plan for intercepting the galleons; three only fell into his hands; theſe however were ſo rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition; on his return he was promoted to the dignity of earl Marſhal; but as the queen was determined to maintain a neutrality between him and Raleigh, ſhe previouſly created ſir Robert Cecil, ſecond ſon of lord Burleigh, a courtier much connected with Raleigh, ſecretary of

ſtate,

ſtate, in preference to ſir Thomas Bodley, whom Eſſex recommended for that office.

A.D. 1598. Eſſex might perceive from this conduct that Elizabeth, however ſhe loved him, never intended to give him the entire aſcendant over his rivals; but his behaviour was too open and candid to practiſe the arts of a court. The exhauſted ſtate of his kingdom had induced Henry the IVth to conclude at Verviers a peace with Philip; and the treaſurer had ſtrongly inculcated to Elizabeth to finiſh the war on equitable terms. He was oppoſed by Eſſex, who urged that the paſt victories of the queen, had given her entire ſecurity againſt any dangerous invaſion; and that the war muſt thenceforth be conducted by ſudden enterprizes and naval expeditions, in which ſhe poſſeſſed an undoubted ſuperiority; and that as the quarrel had been undertaken on account of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, it would be diſhonourable to abandon them, till they were placed in a greater ſtate of ſecurity.

The counſels of Eſſex were more agreeable to the queen, than thoſe of Burleigh; the favourite ſeemed daily to acquire an aſcendant over the miniſter. Had he been endowed with caution, he would have ſo riveted himſelf in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: But his lofty ſpirit could ill ſubmit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Being once engaged in a diſpute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, roſe at this provocation; and ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a paſſionate expreſſion ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due

to

to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore that he would not bear ſuch uſage, were it from Henry VIII. himſelf; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton the chancellor, who loved Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion, by proper acknowledgements: and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country: but Eſſex was deeply ſtung with the diſhonour which he had received; and ſeemed to think, that an inſult which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his ſovereign. "If "the vileſt of all indignities," ſaid he, "is done "me, does religion enforce me to ſue for pardon? "Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? "Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot ſubjects re"ceive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Par"don me, my lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe "principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is "ſtriken; let thoſe that mean to make their profit "of princes, ſhew no ſenſe of princes' injuries: "Let *them* acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on "earth, that do not believe an abſolute infiniteneſs "in heaven" (alluding probably to the character and conduct of ſir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety): "As for me," continued he, "I have received wrong, I feel it: my cauſe is "good, I know it; and whatſoever happens, all the "powers on earth can never exert more ſtrength "and conſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in "ſuffering every thing that can or ſhall be impoſed "upon me. Your lordſhip, in the beginning of "your letter, makes me a player, and yourſelf a "looker on: and me a player of my own game, "ſo you may ſee more than I: but give me leave "to tell you, that ſince you do but ſee, and I do "ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity feel more than you."

Though copies of this letter were diſperſed by the

the friends of Eſſex, the queen's partiality towards him was ſo prevalent, that ſhe reinſtated him in his former favour. The death of Burleigh, which happened about the ſame time, ſeemed to leave him without a rival. That miniſter died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his ſovereign, and the people. He appears not to have poſſeſſed any ſhining talents of addreſs, eloquence, or imagination; and to have been chiefly diſtinguiſhed by ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in buſineſs.

The laſt act of this able miniſter was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in ſome meaſure deſerted by the king of France, were glad to perſerve the queen's alliance by ſubmitting to any terms which ſhe pleaſed to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now ſettled at eight hundred thouſand pounds: of this ſum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thouſand pounds a year; and theſe payments were to continue till four hundred thouſand pounds of the debt ſhould be extinguiſhed. They engaged alſo, during the time that England ſhould continue the war with Spain, to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns. They ſtipulated, that if Spain ſhould invade England, or the Iſle of Wight or Jerſey, or Scilly, they ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; and that in caſe ſhe undertook any naval armament againſt Spain, they ſhould join an equal number of ſhips to her's. By this treaty the queen was eaſed of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds.

Soon after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loſs of ſo wiſe and faithful a miniſter, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II. who, after languiſhing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, deſirous of an accommodation with his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, but

but diſdaining to make in his own name the conceſſions neceſſary for that purpoſe, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princeſs could have poſterity, and as the reverſion on failure of her iſſue was ſtill reſerved to the crown of Spain, the States conſidered this deed only as the change of a name, and they perſiſted with equal obſtinacy in their reſiſtance to the Spaniſh arms. The other powers alſo of Europe made no diſtinction between the courts of Bruſſels and Madrid; and the ſecret oppoſition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate againſt the progreſs of Albert, as it had done againſt that of Philip.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

State of Ireland.—Tyrone's Rebellion.—Eſſex ſent over to Ireland.—Returns to England.—Is Diſgraced.—His Intrigues.—His Inſurrection.—His Trial and Execution.—French Affairs.—Mountjoy's Succeſs in Ireland.—Defeat of the Spaniards and Iriſh.—A Parliament.—Tyrone's Submiſſion.—Queen's Sickneſs.—Death and Character.—Government of England.—Revenues.—Commerce.—Military Force.—Manufactures.—Learning.

A. D. 1599. WHILE Elizabeth was occupied in cheriſhing the diſpoſition of revolt in the Netherlands, ſhe herſelf was expoſed to the ſame ſpirit in Ireland. The authority of the Engliſh over that of Ireland, had been hitherto little more than nominal. The Iriſh princes and nobles, divided among themſelves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeiſance to a power which they were not able to reſiſt; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapſed ſtill into their former ſtate of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the Engliſh authority was yet ſufficient to check the growth of any enterpriſing genius among the natives; and though it could beſtow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the riſe of any ſuch form, from the internal combination or policy of the Iriſh.

Moſt of the Engliſh inſtitutions likewiſe by which that iſland was governed, were to the laſt degree abſurd, and ſuch as no ſtate before had ever thought

of, for preſerving dominion over its conquered provinces.

Inſtead of being invited to adopt the civilized cuſtoms of their conquerors, the Iriſh were every where marked out as aliens and as enemies; and being treated like wild beaſts they became ſuch. Even at the end of the ſixteenth century, when every chriſtian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that iſland, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile ſoil, acceſſible in its ſituation, poſſeſſed of innumerable harbours, was ſtill, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, inhabited by a people whoſe cuſtoms and manners approached nearer thoſe of ſavages and of barbarians.

Their animoſity againſt the Engliſh was carried ſo far, that in an inſurrection raiſed by two ſons of the earl of Claricarde, they put to the ſword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Iriſh, becauſe they began to conform themſelves to Engliſh cuſtoms, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practiſed by their anceſtors.

The uſual revenue of Ireland amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds a year. The queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thouſand more, which ſhe remitted from England: and with this ſmall revenue a body of a thouſand men was ſupported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thouſand. No wonder that a force ſo diſproportioned to the object, inſtead of ſubduing a mutinous kingdom, ſerved rather to provoke the natives, and to excite thoſe frequent inſurrections, which ſtill farther inflamed the animoſity between the two nations, and increaſed the diſorders to which the Iriſh were naturally ſubject.

From the acceſſion of Elizabeth, Ireland had been continually diſturbed by the revolts of the native chieftains. The moſt formidable of theſe was Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale as the Iriſh call him, becauſe head of that potent clan. He

was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the Engliſh nation. He is ſaid to have put ſome of his followers to death becauſe they endeavoured to introduce the uſe of bread after the Engliſh faſhion. Though ſo violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accuſtomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame which he had raiſed by former exceſſes. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who ſcorned the title of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have reſtored to him, and who aſſumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulſter. He uſed alſo to ſay, that though the queen was his ſovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her ſeeking.

O'Neale had fomented a violent rebellion in Ulſter, and when preſſed by the Engliſh, rather than fall into their hands he had ſought ſhelter amongſt the Scottiſh iſlanders, who on account of ſome ancient injuries, violated the laws of hoſpitality, and put him to death.

Hugh O'Neale, his nephew, had been raiſed by Elizabeth to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion, to the pleaſures of opulence and tranquillity. He was not leſs eminent for courage, than noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty; truſting to the influence of his deceitful oaths, he had ventured to ſubmit himſelf to the Engliſh, and had been diſmiſſed; returning to his own country, he embraced the reſolution of raiſing an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity of the Engliſh government. He entered into a correſpondence with Spain: he procured thence a ſupply of arms and ammunition: and having united all the Iriſh chieftains in a dependence upon himſelf, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

By

By retiring within the bogs and fortreſſes of the country, Tyrone had ſucceſſively baffled the military ſkill of ſir John Norris, and ſir Henry Bagnal; he had even obtained a victory over the latter in which one thouſand five hundred Engliſh, with the general himſelf, were left dead on the ſpot. The queen now was become ſenſible, that it was neceſſary to carry on the war in a more vigorous manner; and ſhe had fixed on lord Mountjoy as a proper perſon for the ſituation of deputy; but her choice was oppoſed by Eſſex, who, ambitious of fame, was deſirous of obtaining the government for himſelf; and no ſooner were his wiſhes known, than his enemies, even more zealous than his friends, conſpired to gratify them. The former hoped that if by his abſence Elizabeth had leiſure to forget the charms of his perſon and converſation, his impatient and lofty demeanour would ſoon diſguſt a princeſs who uſually exacted ſuch profound ſubmiſſion from her ſervants.

The queen to enſure him ſucceſs, had levied an army of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. She alſo entruſted him with the power of finiſhing the war when he pleaſed, and of filling the moſt conſiderable employments of the kingdom. He left London in the month of march, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility. The firſt act of authority which he exerciſed after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiſcretion, but of a generous kind; and in both theſe reſpects ſuitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure, by ſecretly marrying without her conſent, and whom ſhe had therefore enjoined Eſſex not to employ in any command under him. She no ſooner heard of this inſtance of diſobedience than ſhe reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commiſſion to Southampton. But Eſſex, who had imagined that ſome reaſons which he oppoſed to her firſt injunctions, had ſatisfied her, had the imprudence to remonſtrate againſt theſe ſe-

cond orders; and it was not till ſhe reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to diſplace his friend.

While in England, Eſſex had always inſiſted on the propriety of marching immediately againſt Tyrone, the chief enemy. But he was prevailed on by the ſelfiſh repreſentations of his Iriſh counſellors, to wait till the ſeaſon was more advanced; and to employ the interval in reducing Munſter, where they themſelves poſſeſſed eſtates; Eſſex obliged the rebels of Munſter either to ſubmit or fly; but the tedious marches and the influence of the climate, had rendered his army ſickly, and ſurpriſingly diminiſhed its numbers. On his return to Dublin in July, he wrote to England for a reinforcement of two thouſand men; theſe, though Elizabeth was exceedingly diſpleaſed with his conduct, were ſent over; and he began at laſt to aſſemble his forces for the expedition into Ulſter; but the army was averſe to this enterpriſe, and ſo terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited ſickneſs, many of them deſerted; and Eſſex found, that after leaving the neceſſary garriſons, he could ſcarcely lead four thouſand men againſt the rebels. He marched, however, with this ſmall army; but was ſoon ſenſible, that in ſo advanced a ſeaſon it would be impoſſible for him to effect any thing againſt an enemy who, though ſuperior in number, was determined to avoid every deciſive action. He harkened, therefore, to a meſſage ſent him by Tyrone, who deſired a conference; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpoſe. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his ſaddle: but Eſſex ſtood on the oppoſite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great ſubmiſſion to the lord lieutenant, a ceſſation of arms was concluded to the firſt of May, renewable from ſix weeks to ſix weeks; but which might be broken of by either party upon a fortnight's

fortnight's warning. Eſſex alſo received from Tyrone propoſals for a peace, in which that rebel had inſerted many unreaſonable and exorbitant conditions: and there appeared afterwards ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that he had here commenced a very unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the enemy.

So unexpected an iſſue of enterpriſe, the moſt expenſive Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely againſt Eſſex; and that nobleman was no ſooner appriſed of his anger, than he embraced a reſolution which he knew had once ſucceeded with Leiceſter, her former favourite, he immediately ſet out for England; and making ſpeedy journies, he arrived at court before any one was appriſed of his intentions. Though beſmeared with dirt and ſweat, he haſtened up ſtairs to the preſence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor ſtopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. He threw himſelf on his knees, kiſſed her hand, and had ſome private conference with her; where he was ſo graciouſly received, that on his departure, he was heard to expreſs great ſatisfaction, and to thank God that though he had ſuffered much trouble and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home.

But when Elizabeth had time for recollection from the ſurpriſe into which the preſence of her favourite had thrown her, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of ſubduing that haughty ſpirit which preſumed to domineer over her counſels. She ordered Eſſex to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, ſhe committed him to the cuſtody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him ſequeſtered from all company, even from that of his counteſs, nor was ſo much as the intercourſe of letters permitted between them. Eſſex dropped many expreſſions of humiliation and ſorrow, none of reſentment: he profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the queen's will: declared his intention of retiring into the country,

and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and buſineſs: but though he affected to be ſo entirely cured of his aſpiring ambition, the vexation of this diſappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty ſpirit, and he fell into a diſtemper which ſeemed to put his life in danger.

The queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himſelf, that the purpoſe of her ſeverity was to correct, not to ruin him; and when ſhe heard of his ſickneſs, ſhe was not a little alarmed with his ſituation. She ordered eight phyſicians of of the beſt reputation and experience to conſult of his caſe; and being informed that the iſſue was much to be apprehended, ſhe ſent Dr. James to him with ſome broth, and deſired that phyſician to deliver him a meſſage, which ſhe probably deemed of ſtill greater virtue; that if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. The byſtanders, who carefully obſerved her countenance, remarked that in pronouncing theſe words, her eyes were ſuffuſed with tears.

When the ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Eſſex were known, they gave a ſenſible alarm to the faction which had declared their oppoſition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the moſt violent as well as the moſt ambitious of his enemies, was ſo affected with the appearance of this ſudden revolution, that he was ſeized with ſickneſs in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the ſame ſalve to his wound, and to ſend him a favourable meſſage, expreſſing her deſire of his recovery.

A. D. 1600. The medicine which the queen adminiſtered to theſe aſpiring rivals was ſucceſsful with both; and Eſſex being allowed the company of his counteſs, and to retire to his own houſe, paſſed his time in indulging that taſte for literature by which he had ever been diſtinguiſhed. Several incidents however kept alive the

the queen's anger againſt him: Mountjoy, his ſucceſſor in Ireland, penetrated into the heart of Ulſter, the chief ſeat of the rebels. Nor was the adminiſtration of Mountjoy more injurious to the reputation of Eſſex, than his popularity was dangerous to his ſecurity; the queen was diſguſted by the writings that were diſperſed in his favour: to juſtify his own conduct, ſhe ordered him to be tried by the ſtar-chamber. His ſubmiſſive appearance before that court, drew tears from many of the members; and the ſentence pronounced only confined him during her majeſty's pleaſure to his own houſe, and ſuſpended him from acting in his different qualities of privy counſellor, earl marſhal, and maſter of the ordnance.

All the world expected that Eſſex would ſoon be reinſtated in his former credit; and they were confirmed in this opinion, when they ſaw, that though he was ſtill prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of maſter of the horſe, and was reſtored to liberty. But one ſtep of rigour, puſhed too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman. He had ſolicited the queen to renew a monopoly of ſweet wines, the patent for which was near expiring. The refuſal of this requeſt exhauſted his patience; and while he courted with increaſe of diligence the favour of the public, he was heard to ſay, that the queen was grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body.

Such ſpeeches could not but incenſe Elizabeth, who, though approaching to her ſeventieth year, was ſtill tenacious of the character of a beauty; yet even theſe ſarcaſms could not provoke her more than the ſecret applications of Eſſex to the king of Scots her heir and ſucceſſor. The violent meaſures however which Eſſex propoſed, of extorting by arms an immediate declaration in favour of James's right of ſucceſſion, were declined by that monarch; and Mountjoy, who had promiſed to aſſiſt the deſign,

by bringing part of his army over from Ireland, refuſed to concur in it, when he found it was no longer ſanctioned by the king of Scots.

A. D. 1601. Diſappointed in this project, Eſſex, not only occupied himſelf in libelling the miniſters of the queen who had adviſed her to make peace with Spain, as traitors who had betrayed the intereſts of their country; but aſſembled at Drury-houſe, a violent council of malcontents, compoſed of ſir Charles Davers, to whom the houſe belonged, the earl of Southampton, ſir Ferdinando Gorges, ſir Chriſtopher Blount, ſir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Eſſex, who boaſted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note at his devotion, and who truſted ſtill more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his aſſociates thoſe ſecret deſigns with which his confidence in ſo powerful a party had inſpired him. Among other criminal projects, the reſult of blind rage and deſpair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and aſked their opinion whether he had beſt begin with ſeizing the palace or the Tower, or ſet out with making himſelf maſter at once of both places. The firſt enterpriſe being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed that ſir Chriſtopher Blount, with a choice detachment, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the palace gates; that Davies ſhould ſeize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and preſence-chamber; and that Eſſex ſhould ruſh in from the Meuſe, attended by a body of his partiſans; ſhould entreat the queen with all demonſtrations of humility, to remove his enemies: ſhould oblige her to aſſemble a parliament; and ſhould with common conſent ſettle a new plan of government.

Theſe deſperate projects were not agitated without ſuſpicion on the part of the queen. A ſummons was ſent to Eſſex to attend the council; he immediately concluded the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered;

diſcovered; and buoyed up with the vain idea of his popularity, he excuſed himſelf from waiting on the council under pretence of indiſpoſition, and determined on the wild reſource of raiſing the city.

The execution of this deſign was delayed until the next day, when there appeared at Eſſex-houſe the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Eſſex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies expoſed him. To ſome he ſaid, that he would throw himſelf at the queen's feet, and crave her juſtice and protection: to others, he boaſted of his intereſt in the city, and affirmed, that whatever might happen, this reſource could never fail him. The queen was informed of theſe deſigns, by means of intelligence conveyed, as is ſuppoſed, to Raleigh, by ſir Ferdidando Gorges; and, having ordered the magiſtrates of London to keep the citizens in readineſs, ſhe ſent Egerton, lord-keeper, to Eſſex-houſe, with the earl of Worceſter, ſir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief juſtice, in order to learn the cauſe of theſe unuſual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their ſervants were excluded except the purſe-bearer. After ſome altercation, in which they charged Eſſex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude who ſurrounded them; the earl, who found that matters were paſt recal, reſolved to leave them priſoners in his houſe, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He ſallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking ſwords; and in his paſſage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. He cried aloud, *For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life*; and then proceeded to the houſe of Smith, the ſheriff, on whoſe aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him

him in amazement; but though he told them that England was ſold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm inſtantly, otherwiſe they could not do him any ſervice, no one ſhowed a diſpoſition to join him. The ſheriff, on the earl's approach to his houſe, ſtole out at the back door, and made the beſt of his way to the mayor. Eſſex, meanwhile, obſerving the coldneſs of his citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and thought of retreating to his own houſe. He found the ſtreets in his paſſage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of ſir John Leviſon. In this attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman to whom he bore great friendſhip, was killed with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himſelf, attended by a few of his partizans (for the greater part being ſecretly to withdraw themſelves), retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Eſſex-houſe. He there found that Gorges, whom he had ſent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counſellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to deſpair; and appeared determined, in proſecution of lord Sandy's advice, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and rather to periſh, like a brave man, with his ſword in his hand, than baſely by the hands of the executioner: but after ſome parley, and after demanding in vain, firſt hoſtages, then conditions from the beſiegers, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; requeſting only civil treatment, and an fair and impartial hearing.

The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurſt acted as lord ſteward; their guilt was too apparent to admit of any doubt. When ſentence was pronounced, Eſſex ſpoke like a man who expected nothing but death: But he added, that he ſhould be ſorry if he were repreſented to the queen

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as a perſon that deſpiſed her clemency; though he ſhould not, he believed, make any cringing ſubmiſſions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and ſubmiſſive: he entreated the good offices of the peers in ſo modeſt and becoming a manner as excited compaſſion in every one.

The proud heart of Eſſex, that was inſenſible to the fear of death, was ſubdued by the ſentiments of religion; he was perſuaded by his ſpiritual directors to give in an account of all his deſigns, as well as of his correſpondence with the king of Scots. He ſpared not even his moſt intimate friends, ſuch as lord Mountjoy; but as the queen found Mountjoy an able and ſucceſsful commander, ſhe ſacrificed her reſentment to the public ſervice.

The ſituation of Eſſex called forth all the tender affections of Elizabeth; ſhe felt a perpetual combat between the care of her own ſafety, and concern for her favourite. She ſigned the warrant for his execution; ſhe countermanded it; ſhe again reſolved on his death; ſhe felt a new return of tenderneſs; and it was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in never making, as ſhe hourly expected, any application to her for mercy, that at laſt hardened her heart againſt him. He diſcovered at his death, ſymptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. The execution was private in the Tower agreeably to his own requeſt. He was apprehenſive, he ſaid, leſt the favour and compaſſion of the people would too much raiſe his heart in thoſe moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of heaven was the only proper ſentiment which he could indulge. And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of ſo melancholy a ſpectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpoſe, and who beheld Eſſex's execution from a window, increaſed much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured: it was thought

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that his ſole intention was to feaſt his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology which he could make for ſo ungenerous a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animoſity with which he urged on Eſſex's fate, even when Cecil relented, were ſtill regarded as the ſource of this unmanly behaviour.

The earl of Eſſex was but thirty-four years of age, when his raſhneſs, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We muſt here, as in many other inſtances, lament the inconſtancy of human nature, that a perſon endowed with ſo many noble virtues, generoſity, ſincerity, friendſhip, valour, eloquence, and induſtry, ſhould, in the latter period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable paſſions, and involved not only himſelf but many of his friends in utter ruin. The queen's tenderneſs and paſſion for him, as it was the cauſe of thoſe premature honours which he attained, ſeems, on the whole, the chief circumſtance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in ſo advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an imprudent openneſs, of which he made profeſſion, to diſcover too eaſily thoſe ſentiments to her. The many reconciliations and return of affection, of which he had ſtill made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he puſhed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the ſentiments of the woman were ever ſtrong in her, thoſe of the ſovereign had ſtill, in the end, appeared predominant.

Some of Eſſex's aſſociates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, and Meric, were tried, condemned, and executed; the earl of Southampton's life was ſaved with great difficulty; and he was detained in priſon during the remainder of this reign.

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The king of Scots, apprehenſive that his intrigues with Eſſex might have been diſcovered, ſent ambaſſadors to England to congratulate the queen on her eſcape. Theſe entered into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, whoſe influence after the fate of Eſſex was uncontrolled; and who reſolved to acquire in time the confidence of the ſucceſſor; and that able miniſter perſuaded James to remain quiet, and to expect the inheritance of the crown, without puſhing his friends to enterprizes, which would totally incapacitate them from ſerving him.

Much about the ſame time the marquis of Roſni, the miniſter and favourite of Henry of France, came to England in diſguiſe. Elizabeth had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing in conjunction with Henry, a new ſyſtem in Europe, by the erection of new ſtates on the ruins of the houſe of Auſtria. She had even the prudence to foreſee the perils which might enſue from the aggrandiſement of her ally; and ſhe propoſed to unite all the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier againſt the dangerous increaſe of the French as well as of the Spaniſh monarchy. Henry had himſelf long meditated ſuch a project againſt the Auſtrian family; and Roſni could not forbear expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, when he found that Elizabeth and his maſter, though they had never communicated their ſentiments on this ſubject, not only had entered into the ſame general views, but had alſo formed the ſame plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France, were not yet brought to a ſituation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterpriſe; and Roſni ſatisfied the queen, that it would be neceſſary to poſtpone for ſome years their united attack on the houſe of Auſtria. He departed, filled with juſt admiration at the ſolidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatneſs of her mind; and he owns, that ſhe was entirely worthy of that high reputation which ſhe enjoyed in Europe.

Yet while the queen was forming ſuch extenſive projects,

projects, the expence incurred by the war in Ireland lay heavy on her narrow revenue. Her miniſters repreſented to her that the money remitted for the pay of her ſoldiers, came by the neceſſary courſe of circulation into the hands of the rebels; they therefore recommended to her to pay her forces in baſe money; and Elizabeth, though ſhe juſtly valued herſelf on fixing the ſtandard of the Engliſh coin, much debaſed by her predeceſſors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was ſeduced by the ſpecious arguments employed by the treaſurer on this occaſion; and ſhe coined a great quantity of baſe money, which ſhe made uſe of in the pay of her forces in Ireland.

In that country, Mountjoy had acted with the greateſt vigour and ſucceſs. He had haraſſed Tyrone in Ulſter, by inceſſant inroads; and though the Spaniards, to the amount of four thouſand, landed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Kinſale, he collected his forces, and formed the ſeige of Kinſale by land, while ſir Richard Leviſon, with a ſmall ſquadron, blockaded it by ſea. He had no ſooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thouſand Spaniards under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo, who had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach ſir George Carew to oppoſe their progreſs. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Iriſh, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinſale. The deputy, informed of their deſign by intercepted letters, made preparation to receive them; and being reinforced by Leviſon with ſix hundred marines, he poſted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the paſſage of the enemy, leaving ſome cavalry to prevent a ſally from d'Aquila and the Spaniſh garriſon. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Iriſh and Spaniards, approached, he was ſurpriſed to find the Engliſh ſo well poſted, and ranged in

in good order; and he immediately ſounded a retreat: but the deputy gave orders to purſue him; and having thrown theſe advanced troops into diſorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he alſo attacked, and put to flight, with the ſlaughter of twelve hundred men. Ocampo was taken priſoner; Tyrone fled into Ulſter; O'Donnel made his eſcape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himſelf reduced to the greateſt difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the deputy preſcribed to him: he ſurrendered Kinſale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other ſucceſſes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into diſmay, and gave a proſpect of the final reduction of Ireland.

Though the Iriſh were unſucceſsful, the war was extremely burthenſome; and the neceſſity of the queen's affairs obliged her again to ſummon a parliament. In this it appeared, that in her old age ſhe was ſtill determined to ſupport the powers of her prerogative with her wonted vigour. To reward thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in civil or military employments, ſhe had granted patents for monopolies; and theſe patents they ſold to others, who were thereby enabled to raiſe commodities to what price they pleaſed, and who put invincible reſtraints upon all commerce, induſtry, and emulation in the arts. It is aſtoniſhing to conſider the number and importance of thoſe commodities, which were thus aſſigned over to patentees. Currants, ſalt, iron, powder, cards, calf-ſkins, fells, pouldavies, ox ſhin-bones, train-oil, liſts of cloth, pot-aſhes, anniſeeds, vinegar, ſea-coals, ſteel, aqua-vitæ, bruſhes, pots, bottles, ſaltpetre, lead, accidence, oil, calamine-ſtone, oil of blubber, glaſſes, paper, ſtarch, tin, ſulphur, new drapery, dried pilchares, tranſportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spaniſh wool, of Iriſh yarn: theſe are but a part of the commodities

which

which had been appropriated to monopoliſts. When this liſt was read in the houſe, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number? Bread!* ſaid every one with aſtoniſhment: *Yes, I aſſure you*, replied he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we ſhall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament.* Theſe monopoliſts were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that in ſome places they raiſed the price of ſalt from ſixteenpence a buſhel, to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to ſecure themſelves againſt encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppreſs the people at pleaſure, and to exact money from ſuch as they thought proper to accuſe of interfering with their patent. The patentees of ſaltpetre having the power of entering into every houſe, and of committing what havoc they pleaſed in ſtables, cellars, or wherever they ſuſpected ſalt-petre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from thoſe who deſired to free themſelves from this damage or trouble. And while all domeſtic intercourſe was thus reſtrained, leſt any ſcope ſhould remain for induſtry, almoſt every ſpecies of foreign commerce was confined to excluſive companies, who bought and ſold at any price that they themſelves thought proper to offer or exact.

A bill was now introduced into the lower houſe, aboliſhing all theſe monopolies; the courtiers in oppoſing it, aſſerted that the royal prerogative was not to be canvaſſed nor diſputed; and that abſolute princes, ſuch as the ſovereigns of England, were a ſpecies of divinity. After this diſcourſe, more worthy of a Turkiſh divan than of an Engliſh houſe of commons, according to our preſent idea of this aſſembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to ariſe, ſent for the ſpeaker, and deſired him to acquaint the houſe, that ſhe would immediately cancel the moſt grevious and oppreſſive of theſe patents.

Such was the gratitude of the houſe for this condeſcenſion, that a member ſaid with tears in his eyes, that if a ſentence of everlaſting happineſs had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy; nor was the ſatisfaction of the commons confined, they granted on that occaſion a ſupply quite unprecedented, of four ſubſidies and eight fifteenths.

With this money Elizabeth fitted out a ſquadron of nine ſhips, under the command of ſir Richard Leviſon and ſir William Monſon, who attacked the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal, ſunk, burnt, or put to flight, eleven gallies in it; and made prize of a rich carrack, valued at a million of ducats. A. D. 1602.

In Ireland, Tyrone had been obliged to ſurrender a priſoner at diſcretion to lord Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over to England a captive, to be diſpoſed of at the queen's pleaſure. A. D. 1603.

But Elizabeth was incapable of receiving any ſatisfaction from this fortunate event. She had fallen into a profound melancholy. Some incidents had revived her tenderneſs for Eſſex, and filled her with ſorrow for his execution. That nobleman, after his return from Cadiz, had regretted that his abſence in her ſervice expoſed him to all thoſe ill offices which his enemies, more aſſiduous in their attendance, could employ againſt him. She was moved with this tender jealouſy; and making him the preſent of a ring, deſired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and aſſured him, that into whatever diſgrace he ſhouldſt fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately upon the ſight of it recal her former tenderneſs, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, reſerved this precious gift to the laſt extremity; but

after his trial and condemnation, he reſolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, the mortal enemy of Eſſex, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect of it to his invincible obſtinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, puſhed by reſentment and policy to ſign the warrant for his execution. The counteſs of Nottingham falling into ſickneſs, and affected with the near approach of death, was ſeized with remorſe for her conduct; and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal ſecret. The queen, aſtoniſhed with this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion: ſhe ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed; and crying to her, *that God may pardon her, but ſhe never could*; ſhe broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy. She rejected all conſolation: ſhe even refuſed food and ſuſtenance: and throwing herſelf on the floor, ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and exiſtence an inſufferable burthen to her. Few words ſhe uttered; and they were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief, which ſhe cared not to reveal: but ſighs and groans were the chief vent which ſhe gave to her deſpondency, and which, though they diſcovered her ſorrows, were never able to eaſe or aſſuage them. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her; and her phyſicians could not perſuade her to allow herſelf to be put to bed, much leſs to make trial of any remedies which they preſcribed to her. Her anxious mind at laſt had ſo long preyed on her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching; and the council being aſſembled, ſent the keeper, admiral, and ſecretary,

to

to know her will with regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered with a faint voice, that, as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil requeſting her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe ſubjoined, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be but her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots? Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied, that ſhe did ſo, nor did her mind in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; her ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired gently, without farther ſtruggle or convulſion, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

So dark a cloud overcaſt the evening of that day, the meridian luſtre of which had dazzled the eyes of Europe. Yet though the vigour, conſtancy, penetration and addreſs of Elizabeth are to be commended; a conduct leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, more ſincere, more indulgent to her people, is requiſite to from a perfect character. Her heroiſm was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendſhip from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: ſhe guarded not herſelf with equal care or equal ſucceſs from leſſer infirmities; the rivalſhip of beauty, the deſire of admiration, the jealouſy of love, and the ſallies of anger.

When we contemplate this princeſs as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and conſider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and entruſted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our

fancy to her as a wife or a miſtreſs; but her qualities as a ſovereign, though with ſome conſiderable exceptions, are the object of undiſputed applauſe and approbation.

Though Elizabeth exerciſed the royal authority in a manner ſo contrary to all the ideas which we at preſent entertain of a legal conſtitution, ſhe only ſupported the prerogatives tranſmitted to her by her predeceſſors. It was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government by which ſhe herſelf was inveſted with ſuch unlimited power. Few examples occur of princes who have willingly reſigned their power: none of thoſe who have, without ſtruggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than eſtabliſhed practice be followed, factions and diſſenſions muſt multiply without end: And though many conſtitutions, and none more than the Britiſh, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praiſe beſtowed on thoſe patriots to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with ſome reſerve, and ſurely without the leaſt rancour againſt thoſe who adhered to the ancient conſtitution.

The great popularity which Elizabeth enjoyed, proves that ſhe did not infringe any *eſtabliſhed* liberties of the people; but the ancient prerogatives of the crown were enormous; *The court of ſtarchamber*, poſſeſſed an unlimited diſcretionary authority of fining, impriſoning, and inflicting corporal puniſhment. The members conſiſted of the privy council, and the judges; men, who all of them enjoyed their offices during pleaſure; and when the prince himſelf was preſent, he was the ſole judge, and all the others could only interpoſe with their advice.

The court of high commiſſion was another juriſdiction ſtill more terrible; both becauſe the crime of hereſy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and becauſe its methods of inquiſition, and of adminiſtering oaths, were more contrary to all the moſt ſimple ideas of juſtice and

and equity. The fines and impriſonments impoſed by this court were frequent: the deprivations and ſuſpenſions of the clergy for non-conformity were alſo numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the eccleſiaſtics of England.

But Martial Law went even beyond theſe two courts in a prompt, and arbitrary method of deciſion. Whenever there was any inſurrection or public diſorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exerciſed, not only over the ſoldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be puniſhed as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provoſt-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleaſed to ſuſpect.

The Star Chamber and High Commiſſion, and Court-martial, though arbitrary juriſdictions, had ſtill ſome pretence of a trial, at leaſt of a ſentence; but there was a grievous puniſhment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a ſecretary of ſtate, or of the privy-council; and that was, impriſonment in any jail, and during any time that the miniſters ſhould think proper. In ſuſpicious times, all the jails were full of priſoners of ſtate; and theſe unhappy victims of public jealouſy were ſometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the moſt cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

This practice was an indirect way of employing torture: but the rack itſelf, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of juſtice, was frequently uſed, upon any ſuſpicion, by authority of a warrant from a ſecretary or the privy-council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commiſſion, to make uſe of torture whenever they thought proper.

The power of preſſing both for ſea and land ſervice, and of obliging any perſon to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was ano-

ther prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Oſborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In caſe "ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions," ſays he, "ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a "chargeable employment abroad, or putting him "upon ſome ſervice at home, which ſhe knew leaſt "grateful to the people."

Even the ſole exception to the power of the ſovereign, that of impoſing taxes, was very much encroached upon: arbitrary loans were often exacted: the demand for benevolence was ſcarcely eſteemed irregular: a ſpecies of ſhip money was required at the time of the Spaniſh invaſion: purveyance and preemption were alſo oppreſſive methods of taxation; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of thoſe Univerſities.

Wardſhip was the moſt regular and legal of all theſe impoſitions by prerogative: yet was it a great badge of ſlavery, and oppreſſive to all the conſiderable families. When an eſtate devolved to a female, the ſovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleaſed: whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the eſtate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardſhip was a uſual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

Embargoes on merchandiſe was another engine of royal power, by which the Engliſh princes were able to extort money from the people. We have ſeen inſtances of this in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, iſſued an order to the cuſtomhouſe, prohibiting the ſale of all crimſon ſilks which ſhould be imported, till the court were firſt ſupplied. She expected, no doubt, a good penny-worth from the merchants while they lay under this reſtraint.

The parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting ſubſidies; but this privilege

privilege was, during that age, ſtill more inſignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expreſsly prohibited them from meddling either with ſtate matters or eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and ſhe openly ſent the members to priſon who dared to tranſgreſs her imperial edict in theſe particulars. There paſſed few ſeſſions of parliament during her reign where there occur not inſtances of this arbitrary conduct.

Thus the abſolute authority of the ſovereign was eſtabliſhed on numerous branches of the prerogative now totally aboliſhed; but what enſured more effectually the ſlavery of the people, than even theſe branches of prerogative, was the eſtabliſhed principles of the times, which attributed to the prince ſuch an unlimited and indefeizable power as was ſuppoſed to be the origin of all laws, and could be circumſcribed by none. The homilies publiſhed for the uſe of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited paſſive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, it is ever lawful for ſubjects in the ſmalleſt article to depart from or infringe. Much noiſe has been made becauſe ſome court chaplains during the ſucceeding reigns were permitted to preach ſuch doctrines; but there is a great difference between theſe ſermons and diſcourſes publiſhed by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation. So thoroughly were theſe principles imbibed by the people, during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predeceſſors, that oppoſition to them was regarded as the moſt flagrant ſedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praiſe and approbation which can alone ſupport men under ſuch dangers and difficulties as attend the reſiſtance of tyrannical authority. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and ſpreading themſelves under the ſhelter of puritanical abſurdities, became faſhionable among the people.

Queen Elizabeth's economy was remarkable, and ſeemed in ſome inſtances to border on avarice; yet ſhe never amaſſed any treaſure; and the real ſource of her frugal conduct was derived from her deſire of independency. She is ſaid to have paid four millions of debt left on the crown, by her father, brother, and ſiſter. The States at the time of her death owed her about 800,000l. the king of France 450,000l. It is difficult to compute exactly her ordinary revenue; but it certainly fell much ſhort of 500,000l. a year. In the year 1590, ſhe raiſed the cuſtoms from 14,000l. to 50,000l.; and obliged ſir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund ſome of his former profit. If we ſuppoſe that the ſupplies granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we ſhall not probably be much wide of the truth. This ſum makes only ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds a-year; and it is ſurpriſing, that while the queen's demands were ſo moderate, and her expences ſo well regulated, ſhe ſhould ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a ſupply from parliament, or be reduced to make ſale of the crown-lands.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the Engliſh princes had uſually recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was ſo low, that beſides paying the high intereſt of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, that great and enterpriſing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees eſtabliſhed itſelf in the city, and ſhe ſhook off this dependence on foreigners.

In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Greſham to borrow for her two hundred thouſand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely

debaſed.

debaſed. She was ſo impolitic as to make, herſelf, an innovation in the coin; by dividing a pound of ſilver into ſixty-two ſhillings, inſtead of ſixty, the former ſtandard. This is the laſt time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

Queen Elizabeth, ſenſible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was deſirous to encourage navigation. Sir Martin Frobiſher undertook three fruitleſs voyages to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage: Davis, not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, made a new attempt, when he diſcovered the ſtraits which paſs by his name. In the year 1600, the queen granted the firſt patent to the Eaſt-India company: the ſtock of that company was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; and they fitted out four ſhips under the command of James Lancaſter, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was ſucceſsful; and the ſhips returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand ſignior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation he gave a good reception to the Engliſh, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

In the year 1582, the ſeamen in England were found to be fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five men; the number of veſſels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons. Monſon pretends, that though navigation decayed in the firſt years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before the year 1640 this number of ſeamen was tripled in England.

The navy which the queen left at her deceaſe

appears conſiderable, when we reflect only on the number of veſſels, which were forty-two: but when we conſider that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four; we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the Engliſh navy, compared to the force which it has now attained. In the year 1588, there were not above five veſſels fitted out by the noblemen and ſea-ports which exceeded two hundred tons.

Mr. Murden has publiſhed from the Saliſbury collections a paper which contains the military force of the nation at the the time of the Spaniſh invaſion; it makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to 111,513; thoſe armed to 80,875; of 44,727 were trained: but Harriſon ſays, that in the muſters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for ſervice amounted 1,172,674, yet was it believed that a full third was omitted: ſuch uncertainty and contradiction are there in all theſe accounts.

The ſtate of the Engliſh manufactures were at this time very low; and foreign wares of almoſt all kinds had the preference. The perſecutions in France and the Low Countries drove, however, a great number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them. It was then that ſir Thomas Greſham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: the queen viſited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

There were two attempts made in this reign to ſettle colonies in America; one by ſir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by ſir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: but neither of theſe projects proved ſucceſsful. All thoſe noble ſettlements were

made in the following reigns. The current ſpecie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions.

Learning on its revival was held in high eſtimation by the Engliſh. The four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on one account or other, be admitted into the claſs of authors. Elizabeth, even after ſhe was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author. She tranſlated Boethius on the Conſolation of Philoſophy; in order, as ſhe pretended, to allay her grief for Henry the IV.'s change of religion. Unhappily for the learned, the queen's vanity lay more in ſhining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spencer himſelf, the fineſt Engliſh writer of his age, was long neglected; and after the death of ſir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almoſt for want.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

JAMES I.

James's firſt Tranſactions.—Raleigh's Conſpiracy.—Peace with Spain.—Gunpowder Conſpiracy.—Death of the French King.—State of Ireland.—Death of Prince Henry.—Marriage of the Princeſs Elizabeth with the Palatine.—Riſe of Somerſet.—Overbury poiſoned.—Fate of Somerſet.—Riſe of Buckingham.—Raleigh's Expedition and Execution.—Loſs of the Palatinate.—Negociations with Spain.—Prince's Journey to Spain.—Marriage Treaty broken.—Rupture with Spain.—Death of James.—Manners of England.—Finances.—Navy.—Colonies.—Learning.

A. D. 1603. THE crown of England was never tranſmitted from father to ſon with greater tranquillity, than it paſſed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. In the king's journey from Edinburgh, all ranks of people flocked about him; but James, though ſociable with his friends and courtiers, hated the buſtle of a mixed multitude; and under pretence of the ſcarcity of proviſions, he iſſued a proclamation forbidding this unuſual concourſe.

He ſeems, however, not to have been inſenſible to the affections of his new ſubjects; and to this motive muſt be aſcribed the titles he laviſhed with ſuch profuſion, that in the firſt ſix weeks he is computed to have beſtowed knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons; a meaſure which provoked a paſquinade, in which an art was promiſed

promiſed to aſſiſt frail memories, in retaining the names of the new nobility.

James had brought with him numbers of his Scottiſh courtiers, and his Engliſh ſubjects loudly complained of the favours he beſtowed on theſe. Sir George Hume, whom he created earl of Dunbar, was one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous of thoſe whom the king honoured with his confidence. Hay, ſome time after, was created viſcount Doncaſter, then earl of Carliſle, and got an immenſe fortune from the crown; all of which he ſpent in a ſplendid and courtly manner. Ramſay obtained the title of earl of Holderneſs; and many others, being raiſed on a ſudden to the higheſt elevation, increaſed, by their inſolence, that envy, which naturally attended them, as ſtrangers and ancient enemies.

It muſt however be owned, in juſtice to James, that he left almoſt all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's miniſters, and truſted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domeſtic, to his Engliſh ſubjects. Among theſe, ſecretary Cecil, created ſucceſſively lord Effindon, viſcount Cranborne, and earl of Saliſbury, was always regarded as his prime miniſter and chief counſellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this miniſter were ſufficiently known, his favour with the king created ſurpriſe on the acceſſion of that monarch. The ſecret correſpondence into which he had entered with James, and which had ſenſibly contributed to the eaſy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit; and while all his former aſſociates, ſir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, lord Cobham, were diſcountenanced on account of their animoſity againſt Eſſex, as well as for other reaſons, this miniſter was continued in employment, and treated with the greateſt confidence and regard.

Of the ambaſſadors who arrived to congratulate the

the new monarch, he who excited the greateſt attention was the duke of Sully, prime miniſter and favourite of Henry the Fourth of France: he propoſed to James a league, in conjunction with Venice and the United Provinces, to attack the Auſtrian dominions on every ſide. But the love of peace was the ruling paſſion of the king of England. He had before his acceſſion given to the Dutch the appellation of rebels; and the utmoſt Sully and his Engliſh miniſters could influence him to, was to conclude a treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that the two kings ſhould allow the Dutch to levy forces in their reſpective dominions; and ſhould underhand remit to that republic the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year for the pay of theſe forces: that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France; but that the third of it ſhould be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the princes, they agreed to aſſiſt each other; Henry with a force of ten thouſand men, James with that of ſix.

Amidſt the general tranquillity the nation was ſurpriſed with the diſcovery of a conſpiracy to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's by the family of Lenox, and deſcended equally from Henry VII. The chiefs of it were, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſuſpected to be of that ſect, who have ſince received the appellation of *free-thinkers*, lord Grey, a puritan, and lord Cobham. Every thing remains ſtill myſterious in this conſpiracy; yet the confeſſion, as well as trial of the criminals, puts the matter beyond doubt. Raleigh was accuſed by Cobham alone, who afterwards retracted his accuſation: and ſoon after again inſiſted on it; yet on the ſingle evidence of this witneſs, was that great man, contrary to law and equity, found guilty by the jury: he was reprieved, not pardoned, and he remained in confinement many years.

The

The religious diſputes between the church and puritans had induced the king to call a conference at Hampton-court: in Scotland he had obſerved the puritanical clergy to be men of low birth, but of lofty pretenſions; the more he had been obliged to court their favours, the ſtronger was his reſentment againſt them. This reſentment had prediſpoſed him againſt the Engliſh puritans, whoſe ruſtic ſeverity he dreaded in proportion as it differed from his own free manner of living. In the conferences at Hampton-court, when the important queſtions of the ring in marriage, and the uſe of the ſurplice were agitated, James declared himſelf on the ſide of the church; and often repeated a favourite maxim of his, No Bishop, No King. A. D. 1604.

The next aſſembly in which James diſplayed his learning and eloquence, was one that ſhewed more ſpirit of liberty than appeared among his biſhops and theologians. The parliament was now ready to aſſemble; being ſo long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged to ſuch a degree that above 30,000 perſons are computed to have died of it in a year; though the city contained at that time little more than 150,000 inhabitants.

The firſt buſineſs in which the commons were engaged was of the utmoſt importance to the preſervation of their privileges. It had been uſual after parliaments were prolonged beyond one ſeſſion, for the chancellor to iſſue new writs to ſupply the place of any members whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their ſickneſs, or other impediment. Outlaws had been declared by the judges as incapable of enjoying a ſeat in the houſe. When James ſummoned this parliament, ſir Francis Godwin was returned for the county of Bucks. The chancellor pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his ſeat, and iſſued writs for a new election. Sir John Forteſcue was choſen in his place

place by the county. But the firſt act of the houſe was, to reverſe the chancellor's ſentence, and reſtore ſir Francis to his ſeat. At the king's ſuggeſtion, the lords deſired a conference on the ſubject; but were abſolutely refuſed by the commons, as the queſtion entirely regarded their own privileges. The commons, however, agreed to make a remonſtrance to the king by the mouth of their ſpeaker; in which they maintained, that though the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the ſole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the houſe itſelf, not to the chancellor. James was not ſatisfied, and ordered a conference betwen the houſe and the judges, whoſe opinion in this caſe was oppoſite to that of the commons. This conference, he ſaid, he commanded as an *abſolute* king; an epithet, we are apt to imagine, not very grateful to Engliſh ears, but one to which they had already been ſomewhat accuſtomed from the mouth of Elizabeth. He added, *That all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them againſt him*; a ſentiment which, from her conduct, it is certain that princeſs had alſo entertained, and which was the reigning principle of her courtiers and miniſters, and the ſpring of all her adminiſtration.

The commons were in ſome perplexity, but their deference for majeſty was ſo great, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. There the queſtion of law began to appear, in James's eyes, a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to extricate himſelf with ſome honour, he propoſed that both Goodwin and Forteſcue ſhould be ſet aſide, and a writ be iſſued, by warrant of the houſe, for a new election. Goodwin gave his conſent, and the commons embraced the expedient; but in ſuch a manner, that, while they ſhewed their regard for the king, they ſecured for the future the free poſſeſſion of their ſeats, and the right which they

they claimed, of judging ſolely in their own elections and returns.

It was about this period, that the minds of men throughout Europe; eſpecially in England, had undergone an inſenſible revolution; letters which had been revived in the preceding century, began to ſpread themſelves; a familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited in every generous breaſt, a paſſion for a limited conſtitution; and happily James poſſeſſed neither ſufficient capacity to perceive this alteration, nor ſufficient vigour to check it in its early advances.

The ſpirit and judgment of the commons had been diſplayed in a fruitleſs attempt to deliver trade from the ſhackles that had been impoſed on it by Elizabeth. Though James of his own accord, had annulled the numerous patents for monopolies, granted by his predeceſſor; the excluſive companies, another ſpecies of monopoly, remained; theſe companies, though arbitrarily elected, had carried their privileges ſo far, that almoſt all the commerce of England was centered in London; and it appears, that the cuſtoms of that port amounted to 110,000l. a year, while thoſe of all the kingdom beſide yielded only ſeventeen thouſand. Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred citizens, who were eaſily enabled, by combining among themſelves, to fix whatever price they pleaſed both to the exports and imports of the nation.

Nor were the commons more ſucceſsful in their endeavours to deliver the nation from the burthen of wardſhips and of purveyances; after ſome debates in the houſe, and ſome conferences with the lords, theſe projects were found to contain more difficulties than could eaſily, at that time, be ſurmounted. James on his ſide encountered a diſappointment in his favourite plan of an union of the two kingdoms. The commons on this occaſion ſhewed a greater ſpirit of independence, than any true judgment of national intereſt; and the more the king urged it, the more

backward was the Engliſh parliament in concurring with him.

The diſpoſition of the commons to reject every demand for money, was a new ſource of diſguſt to James; to cover this failure he ſent a meſſage to the houſe, in which he told them, that he deſired no ſupply; and he was very forward in refuſing what was never offered him. Soon after, he prorogued the parliament, not without diſcovering, in his ſpeech, viſible marks of diſſatisfaction. Even ſo early in his reign, he ſaw reaſon to make public complaints of the reſtleſs and encroaching ſpirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence with which they endeavoured to inſpire the commons.

This ſummer the peace with Spain was finally concluded; and was ſigned by the Spaniſh miniſter at London. Some articles which ſeemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared that, by ſecret agreement, the king had expreſſly reſerved the power of ſending aſſiſtance to the Hollanders. The conſtable of Caſtile came into England to ratify the peace; and, on the part of England, the earl of Hertford was ſent into the Low Countries for the ſame purpoſe; and the earl of Nottingham, high admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was numerous and ſplendid; and the Spaniards, it is ſaid, were extremely ſurpriſed, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the Engliſh, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the prieſts, had repreſented as ſo many monſters and infernal dæmons.

It was at this juncture of foreign and domeſtic tranquillity, that the nation was aſtoniſhed by one of the moſt memorable conſpiracies that hiſtory has conveyed to poſterity; *the Gunpowder Treaſon.* The Roman catholics who had expected great favour and indulgence on the acceſſion of James, were enraged at their diſappointment. Cateſby, a gentleman of good

good parts, and of an ancient family, firſt thought of a moſt extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland; who, in a ſally of paſſion at the diſtreſs of the catholics, had mentioned aſſaſſinating the king; "in vain, ſaid Cate-"ſby, would you take away the king's life! in vain "would you extinguiſh the royal family! the nobi-"lity, the gentry, the parliament, are all infected with "the ſame hereſy. To ſerve any good purpoſe, we "muſt deſtroy, at one blow, the king, the royal fa-"mily, the lords, the commons; and bury all our "enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are "all aſſembled on the firſt meeting of the parliament; "and afford us the opportunity of glorious and uſe-"ful vengeance. Great preparations will not be re-"quiſite. A few of us, combining, may run a "mine below the hall, in which they meet; and "chooſing the very moment when the king har-"rangues both houſes, conſign over to deſtruction "theſe determined foes to all piety and religion."

Piercy was charmed with this project of Cateſby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the reſt to Thomas Winter, whom they ſent over to Flanders, in queſt of Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they inliſted any new conſpirator, in order to bind him to ſecrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the communion, the moſt ſacred rite of their religion. And it is remarkable, that no one of theſe pious devotees ever entertained the leaſt compunction with regard to the cruel maſſacre, which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation.

The conſpirators hired a houſe in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament aſſembled. Towards the end of the year 1604, they began their operations. Their perſeverance advanced the work, and A. D. 1605.

They ſoon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickneſs; but on approaching the other ſide, they were ſomewhat ſtartled at hearing a noiſe, which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found, that it came from the vault below the houſe of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were ſelling off, the vault would be let to the higheſt bidder. The opportunity was immediately ſeized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-ſix barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of ſucceſs, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, prince Henry, were all expected to be preſent at the opening of parliament. The duke, by reaſon of his tender age, would be abſent; and it was reſolved, that Piercy ſhould ſeize him, or aſſaſſinate him. The princeſs Elizabeth, a child likewiſe, was kept at lord Harrington's houſe at Warwickſhire; and ſir Everard Digby, Rookwood, Grant, &c. being let into the conſpiracy, engaged to aſſemble their friends on pretence of a hunting match, and ſeizing that princeſs, immediately to proclaim her queen.

The dreadful ſecret, though communicated to above twenty perſons, had been religiouſly kept near a year and a half; and it was an indiſcretion ariſing from the ſame bigoted motives, which ſuggeſted the conſpiracy, that at length revealed it. Ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic, ſon to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his ſervant by an unknown hand. *My lord, out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance in this parliament. For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think*

think not ſlightly of this advertiſement; but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For, though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, unto whoſe holy protection I commend you.

Monteagle as well as lord Saliſbury, to whom he communicated the letter, judged it a fooliſh attempt to frighten him; but the opinion of James was different. A *terrible blow*, and yet *the authors concealed*; a danger ſo *ſudden*, and yet ſo *great*; theſe circumſtances ſeemed all to denote ſome contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought adviſeable to inſpect all the vaults below the houſes of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain; who purpoſely delayed the ſearch, till the day before the meeting of parliament.

The ſearch was delayed till the night before the meeting of parliament, when ſir Thomas Knevet, entering the vault hired by Piercy, where the quantity of fuel collected had occaſioned ſome ſuſpicion, found Fawkes at the door. He immediately ſeized him, and turning over the faggots, diſcovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for ſetting fire to the train were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who finding his guilt now apparent, and ſeeing no refuge but in boldneſs and deſpair, expreſſed the utmoſt regret, that he had loſt the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of ſweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixed even with ſcorn and diſdain; refuſing to diſcover his accomplices, and ſhewing no concern but for the failure of the enterpriſe. This obſtinacy laſted two or three days: but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and

the rack being juſt ſhown to him; his courage, fatigued with ſo long an effort, and unſupported by hope or ſociety, at laſt failed him; and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators.

Cateſby, Piercy, and the others, hearing Fawkes was arreſted, hurried down to Warwickſhire, where ſir Everard Digby was in arms. They were purſued by the ſheriff, and the conſpirators, who never exceeded the number of eighty perſons, reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to the aſſailants. But even this miſerable conſolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and diſabled them for defence. The people ruſhed in upon them. Piercy and Cateſby were killed by one ſhot. Digby, Rockwood, Winter, and others, being taken priſoners, were tried; confeſſed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner. Notwithſtanding this horrid crime, the bigoted catholics were ſo devoted to Garnet, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr.

The king in his ſpeech to the parliament obſerved, that though religion had engaged the conſpirators in ſo criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the ſame guilt; he even towards the concluſion of his reign, gradually abated the rigour of thoſe laws which had been enacted againſt that church. He ſeems to have poſſeſſed at this time the affections of his ſubjects; his learning, which was great, was extolled by the courtiers and gownmen, who beſtowed on him the title of the ſecond Solomon. Even the commons appeared to have felt the general prepoſſeſſion; and granted him an aid payable in four years of three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths.

A. D. 1606. 1608. In regard to the union the Engliſh parliament was ſtill engaged by the motive of national antipathy; and they perſiſted ſo obſtinately in their prejudices, that all efforts for a thorough incorporation ended only in the

the abolition of the hoſtile laws, formerly enacted between the two kingdoms.

The houſe of commons began now to feel themſelves of ſuch importance, that on the motion of ſir Edward Sandys, a member of great authority, they entered, for the firſt time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals. When all buſineſs was finiſhed, the king prorogued the parliament.

In the ſpring of the year, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war which, for near half a century, had been carried on with ſuch fury, between Spain, and the States of the United Provinces. A. D. 1609.

In a new ſeſſion of parliament, the earl of Dorſet, who had been created treaſurer, laid open the king's neceſſities: the crown was burdened, he obſerved, with a debt of 300,000l.; but the commons were inexorable. And this article of money ſoon became a conſiderable cauſe of quarrel between the prince and parliament. After the conqueſt of the Weſt Indies, as gold and ſilver became more plentiful, the price of all commodities had riſen; but as the revenue of the crown roſe not in proportion, the prince was inſenſibly reduced to poverty amidſt the general riches of his ſubjects. Unhappily for him, thoſe very riches begot a ſpirit of freedom and independence in the people; and diſpoſed them, when he applied for ſupplies, to pay little regard either to his entreaties or menaces. A. D. 1610.

The king, by his prerogative alone, had ſome years before, altered the rates of the cuſtoms, and eſtabliſhed higher impoſitions on ſeveral kinds of merchandize. Though he was warranted by the practice of his predeceſſors in a meaſure, which, in our days, would be conſidered as illegal, and though the cuſtoms during his reign were only raiſed from 127,000 pounds a year, to 190,000, all this can-

tion could not prevent the complaints of the commons. In their remonſtrances to the king on this occaſion, they obſerved it to be a general opinion, *That the reaſons of that practice might be extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the kingdom, and the ſubjects' right of property in their lands and goods.* Though expreſsly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they paſſed a bill, aboliſhing theſe impoſitions, which was rejected by the houſe of lords.

In another addreſs, they objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy ſeals; they alſo diſcovered ſome diſcontent againſt the king's proclamations; they even paſſed a bill to circumſcribe the eccleſiaſtical prerogative of the crown; but the houſe of lords, as is uſual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill.

The abolition of wardſhips and purveyance was the next object of the commons; the king agreed to take, and the commons to grant, the annual ſum of 200,000l. in return for the ſurrender of theſe prerogatives; and nothing remained, towards cloſing the bargain, but that the commons ſhould determine the funds by which this ſum ſhould be levied. This ſeſſion was too far advanced to bring ſo difficult a matter to a full concluſion; and though the parliament met again, towards the end of the year, and reſumed the queſtion, they were never able to terminate an affair, upon which they ſeemed ſo intent. The journals of that ſeſſion are loſt; and, as the hiſtorians of this reign are very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whoſe importance they were not ſufficiently appriſed, we know not exactly the reaſon of this failure. It only appears, that the king was extremely diſſatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and ſoon after diſſolved it. This was his firſt parliament, and it ſat near ſeven years.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England;

England; the murder of the French monarch by the poinard of the fanatical Ravaillac. With his death, the glory of the French monarchy ſuffered an eclipſe for ſome years; and as that kingdom fell under an adminiſtration weak and bigoted, factious and diſorderly, the Auſtrian greatneſs began anew to appear formidable to Europe. In England, the antipathy to the catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and ſome of the laws, which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep theſe religioniſts in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and ſeverity.

The management of Ireland was the boaſted maſter-piece of James. To civilize that country it was neceſſary to aboliſh the Iriſh cuſtoms: by the *Brehon* cuſtom, every crime, even murder, might be atoned by a fine. This rate was called his *eric*. When ſir William Fitwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire, that he was to ſend a ſheriff into Fermannah, which, a little before, had been made a county, and ſubjected to the Engliſh law; *Your ſheriff*, ſaid Maguire, *ſhall be welcome to me: but let me know, beforehand, his* eric, *or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county.* As for oppreſſion, extortion, and other treſpaſſes, ſo little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redreſs for ſuch offences could ever be obtained. A. D. 1611. 1612.

After aboliſhing this, and ſeveral ſimilar cuſtoms, James ſubſtituted the Engliſh law in their place. He declared all the natives free citizens: he maintained there a ſmall army, ſeverely diſciplined, which was paid from England, to prevent the ſoldiers from oppreſſing, as in former reigns, the country. All minds were quieted by a general indemnity; circuits were eſtabliſhed; juſtice adminiſtered; and diſorders of every kind ſeverely puniſhed.

A laudable act of juſtice was, about this time, executed in England upon lord Sanquhir, a Scottiſh

nobleman, who had been guilty of the baſe aſſaſſination of Turner, a fencing-maſter. The Engliſh nation, who were generally diſſatisfied with the Scots, were enraged at this crime, equally mean and atrocious; but James appeaſed them, by preferring the ſeverity of law to the interceſſion of the friends and family of the criminal.

This year the ſudden death of Prince Henry diffuſed an univerſal grief throughout the nation. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he already commanded more reſpect than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had ſeduced him into any irregular pleaſures: buſineſs and ambition ſeem to have been his ſole paſſion. His inclinations, as well as exerciſes, were martial. The French ambaſſador, taking leave of him, and aſking his commands for France, found him employed in the exerciſe of the pike; *tell your king*, ſaid he, *in what occupation you left me engaged.* He had conceived great affection and eſteem for the brave ſir Walter Raleigh. It was his ſaying, *ſure no king but my father would keep ſuch a bird in a cage.* He ſeems indeed to have nouriſhed too violent a contempt for the king on account of his pedantry and puſillanimity; and by that means ſtruck in with the reſtleſs and martial ſpirit of the Engliſh nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people.

A. D. 1613. The marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth, with Frederic, elector palatine, was finiſhed ſome time after the death of the prince, and ſerved to diſſipate the grief which aroſe on that melancholy event. But this marriage, though celebrated with great joy and feſtivity, proved itſelf, an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his ſon-in-law, and had ill conſequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, truſting to ſo great an alliance, engaged in enterpriſes beyond his ſtrength: and the king, not being able

to ſupport him in his diſtreſs, loſt entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and eſteem of his own ſubjects.

The hiſtory of this reign may be rather called that of the court than of the nation. About the end of 1609, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, had arrived in London, after having paſſed ſome time in his travels. The charms of his perſon, his eaſy air, and graceful demeanour pointed him out to his countryman, lord Hay, as one likely to acquire the aſcendancy over James, whoſe paſſion for exterior appearance he was no ſtranger to. In hopes that he would attract the royal notice, he appointed him to preſent to the king a tilting match, his buckler and device. In the execution of this office, Carre was thrown by an unruly horſe, and his leg broke. The king ordered him to be lodged in his palace, viſited him after the tilting, and frequently returned during his confinement. The ignorance and ſimplicity of the boy, finiſhed the conqueſt begun by his exterior accompliſhments. James was deſirous that his favourite ſhould derive from him all his ſenſe, experience, and knowledge; it is ſaid, that the king found his pupil ſo ill educated, as to be ignorant even of the loweſt rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aſide the ſceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and inſtructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of ſtate would be introduced; and the ſtripling, by the aſcendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical, inſtruction.

He ſoon knighted him, created him viſcount Rocheſter, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and though, at firſt, without aſſigning him any particular office, beſtowed on him the ſupreme direction of all his buſineſs and political concerns.

In

In ſir Thomas Oyerbury, the favourite had met with a ſincere friend, and judicious counſellor; and ſo long as he followed his advice, he enjoyed the higheſt favour of the prince, without being hated by the people.

Nothing ſeemed wanting to the courtly happineſs of Rocheſter but a kind miſtreſs, he fixed on the counteſs of Eſſex, the daughter of the earl of Suffolk, and the wife of the earl of Eſſex, whom James had reſtored to his blood and dignity. The beauty of that lady had excited the admiration of the whole court; nor had her conduct been leſs the ſubject of ſurpriſe; ſhe had refuſed to yield to the privileges of a huſband, and though obliged to partake his bed, ſhe had riſen from his ſide without ſharing in the nuptial pleaſures. Diſguſted with reiterated denials, Eſſex abandoned her conduct to her own will, and diſcretion.

The counteſs was not equally inſenſible to the graces of Rocheſter; the lovers ſoon indulged themſelves in every gratification; they were not ſatisfied with this commerce, but were impatient until every reſtraint was removed; and by the divorce of the counteſs from Eſſex they might be legally united.

This project was communicated to Overbury, who repreſented to the favourite how dangerous it would be to take to his bed ſuch a profligate woman. Rocheſter had the weakneſs to reveal this counſel to the counteſs, and both together planned the ruin of the unfortunate Overbury. Rocheſter complained to the king of Overbury's arrogance, and as an honourable retreat for his friend procured for him the embaſſy to Ruſſia. This commiſſion he diſſuaded Overbury from accepting, while he magnified to the king the inſolence of his refuſal. James ordered him to be ſent to the Tower, the lieutenant of which was a creature of Rocheſter's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpoſe: He confined Overbury ſo ſtrictly, that the unhappy priſoner was debarred the ſight even of his neareſt relations;

relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near ſix months which he lived in priſon.

This obſtacle being removed, the lovers purſued their purpoſe; and the king himſelf, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendſhip for the family of Eſſex, entered zealouſly into the project of procuring the counteſs a divorce from her huſband. Eſſex alſo embraced the opportunity of ſeparating himſelf from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to favour their ſucceſs by an honourable expedient. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confeſſed, that, with regard to the counteſs, he was conſcious of ſuch an infirmity, though he was not ſenſible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is ſaid a young virgin was ſubſtituted under a maſk, to undergo a legal inſpection by a jury of matrons. After ſuch a trial, ſeconded by court-influence, and ſupported by the ridiculous opinion of faſcination or witchcraft, the ſentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Eſſex and his counteſs. And, to crown the ſcene, the king, ſolicitous leſt the lady ſhould loſe any rank by her new marriage, beſtowed on his minion the title of earl of Somerſet.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the counteſs of Somerſet was not ſatisfied, till ſhe ſhould farther ſatiate her revenge on Overbury; and ſhe engaged her huſband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious deſign of taking him off ſecretly by poiſon. Fruitleſs attempts were reiterated by weak poiſons; but, at laſt, they gave him one ſo ſudden and violent, that the ſymptoms were apparent to every one who approached him. His interment was hurried on with the greateſt precipitation; and, though a ſtrong ſuſpicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till ſome years after.

The fatal cataſtrophe of Overbury begot a ſuſpicion

picion that the prince of Wales had been carried off by poiſon; and malignant tongues did not even ſpare the reputation of James himſelf.

The mild character of that monarch would in itſelf be a ſufficient refutation from ſo wild a charge; his indulgence to Henry had been ſo great, that he had given him a large independent ſettlement in early youth. This had contributed to the embarraſſment of his affairs; which was increaſed by the death of the earl of Saliſbury. Suffolk, a man of ſlender capacity, had ſucceeded him in his office; and after putting to ſale all patents of nobility, and exhauſting every other device, he was obliged to have recourſe to parliament. The commons no ſooner
A. D. 1614. met, than inſtead of entering on the buſineſs of ſupply, they diſputed his majeſty's power of levying new cuſtoms and impoſitions. This conduct provoked the king; and he diſſolved with great indignation a parliament, which had ſhown ſo firm a reſolution of retrenching his prerogative, without communicating in return the ſmalleſt ſupply to his neceſſities.

How far the king was infected with high monarchical tenets, may be gathered from a ſtory in the life of Waller, and which that poet uſed frequently to repeat. When Waller was young, he had the curioſity to go to court; and he ſtood in the circle, and ſaw James dine; where, among other company, there ſat at table two biſhops, Neile and Andrews. The king propoſed aloud this queſtion, whether he might not take his ſubjects' money, when he needed it, without all this formality of parliament? Neile replied, *God forbid you ſhould not: for you are the breath of our noſtrils.* Andrews declined anſwering, and ſaid, he was not ſkilled in parliamentary caſes: but upon the king's urging him, and ſaying he would admit of no evaſion, the biſhop replied pleaſantly: *why then I think your majeſty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money: for he offers it.*

The crime of Somerſet had hitherto eſcaped the inquiry of juſtice, but had deeply affected his diſpoſition; the gaiety of his manners was obſcured, and his politeneſs changed into ſullenneſs. Somerſet's enemies ſeized the opportunity to offer the king a new minion. George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, and of a good family and handſome perſon, was placed at a comedy in James' eyes, and in the ſame inſtant engaged the attention and affections of that monarch. He immediately beſtowed on him the office of cup-bearer; and the whole court was divided into parties between him and Somerſet, when the guilt of the latter in the murder of Overbury, at laſt decided the controverſy, and expoſed him to the ruin and infamy which he ſo well merited. A. D. 1615.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poiſons, having retired to Fluſhing, began to talk very freely of the whole ſecret; and the affair at laſt came to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By this means, ſir Ralph Winwood, ſecretary of ſtate, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. The king, alarmed and aſtoniſhed to find ſuch enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his boſom, ſent for ſir Edward Coke, chief juſtice, and earneſtly recommended to him the moſt rigorous and unbiaſſed ſcrutiny. This injunction was executed with great induſtry and ſeverity: the whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled: the leſſer criminals, ſir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weſton, Mrs. Turner, were firſt tried and condemned: Somerſet and his counteſs were afterwards found guilty: Northampton's death, a little before, had ſaved him from a like fate.

All the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the puniſhment due to their crime; but the king beſtowed a pardon on the principals, Somerſet and

and the counteſs. After ſome years impriſonment, he reſtored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a penſion, with which they retired, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the moſt deadly hatred; and they paſſed many years together in the ſame houſe, without any intercourſe or correſpondence with each other.

The fate of Somerſet opened the way for Villiers to mount at once to the full height of favour, of honours and of riches. In the courſe of a few years, James created him viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, maſter of the king's-bench office, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England.

A. D. 1616. To gratify this young minion and his needy kindred with riches, were meaſures beyond the ſtrength of James's exchequer. In order to obtain money, the important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammakins, which had been pledged by the Dutch to Elizabeth for the ſum due to her, were delivered up to thoſe republicans. The ſtates ſtill owed the king 600,000 pounds, which they had agreed to pay by inſtallments in fifteen years, at 40,000 pounds a year. But of this ſum, 26,000 pounds a year were expended on the garriſons; and therefore, when James conſented to receive 250,000 pounds in full of the debt, the bargain cannot be conſidered as deſerving that cenſure which has been beſtowed on it by moſt hiſtorians.

A. D. 1617. The deſire of enlarging the epiſcopal authority, and eſtabliſhing a few ceremonies in the public worſhip in Scotland, determined the king this ſummer to viſit his native country. But he was ſoon inſtructed when a religious ſpirit mingles with faction, it contains

tains in it ſomething invincible. In Scotland, a mode of worſhip had been adopted by the reformers, the moſt ſimple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the ſenſes, but repoſed itſelf entirely on the contemplation of that divine eſſence, which diſcovers itſelf to the underſtanding only. The mind was ſo occupied in this inward life, that it fled from every cheerful amuſement; a gloomy and ſullen diſpoſition eſtabliſhed itſelf among the people who were equally animated with a contempt of authority, and a hatred to every other mode of religion; ſuch was their obſtinacy as to reſiſt the perſonal influence of James himſelf, who in order to mellow theſe humours, endeavoured to infuſe a ſmall tincture of ceremony into the national worſhip; nor was it till long after his departure that an aſſembly of the clergy conſented to receive his ceremonies. Even then they were recognized with reluctance; and James's authority had extorted a ſeeming compliance which was belied by the inward ſentiments of all ranks of people.

Nor had James ſhocked more the religious principles of his Scottiſh, than of his Engliſh ſubjects. To counteract the gloomy ſpirit of the puritans, he iſſued a proclamation to encourage after divine ſervice, all lawful games and exerciſes; and, by his authority, he endeavoured to give ſanction to a practice which his ſubjects regarded as the utmoſt inſtance of profaneneſs and impiety.

Thirteen years of impriſonment had changed the ſentiments of the nation with reſpect to ſir Walter Raleigh. His violent and haughty temper was forgotten in the injuſtice of his ſentence, and the length of his confinement. All people admired the man, who being educated amidſt naval and military enterpriſes, ſurpaſſed in the purſuits of literature thoſe of the moſt recluſe and ſedentary lives; and who at his age, and under his circumſtances, could undertake and execute ſo great a work as his Hiſtory of the World. To increaſe theſe A. D. 1621.

favourable diſpoſitions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he ſpread the report of a golden mine, which he had diſcovered in Guiana, and which was ſufficient, according to his repreſentation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immenſe treaſures to the nation.

The king gave little credit to theſe mighty promiſes. Thinking however, that Raleigh had ſuffered ſufficient puniſhment, he releaſed him from the Tower, and gave him permiſſion to try the adventure; yet he refuſed to grant him a pardon; and meant, he ſaid, to reſerve the former ſentence, as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh well knew that it was far from the king's purpoſe to invade any of the Spaniſh ſettlements. He therefore denied that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coaſt where his mine lay. About twenty-three years before he had, by the title of firſt diſcovery, acquired to the crown of England, a claim to the continent of Guiana. But it had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing, or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken poſſeſſion of a part of Guiana, had formed a ſettlement on the river Oronooko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working ſome mines of ſmall value.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his courſe; and, remaining himſelf at the mouth of the river with five of the largeſt ſhips, he ſent up the reſt to St. Thomas, under the command of his ſon, and of captain Keymis, a perſon entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invaſion, fired on the Engliſh at their landing, were repulſed, and purſued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, *That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other*; and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a ſhot, of which he immediately expired. This diſmayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got poſſeſſion of the town, which they afterwards

wards reduced to aſhes; and found not in it any thing of value.

Raleigh did not pretend, that he had himſelf ſeen the mine, which he had engaged ſo many people to go in queſt of: it was Keymis, he ſaid, who had formerly diſcovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promiſed ſuch immenſe treaſures. Yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours march of the place, refuſed, on the moſt abſurd pretences, to take any effectual ſtep towards finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his ſon's death, and the ill ſucceſs of the enterpriſe; ſenſible to reproach, and dreading puniſhment for his behaviour, Keymis, in deſpair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

The other adventurers now concluded they were deceived by Raleigh; they thought it ſafeſt to return to England, and carry him with them to anſwer for his conduct. He was examined before the privy council, who pronounced that he had abuſed the king's confidence, and had wilfully deſtroyed a town belonging to the king of Spain. He might have been tried, either by common law for this act of violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders: but it was an eſtabliſhed principle among lawyers, that as he lay under an actual attainder for high treaſon, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To ſatisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, which raiſed the loudeſt complaints againſt him, the king made uſe of that power which he had purpoſely reſerved in his own hands, and ſigned the warrant for his execution upon his former ſentence.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and though he had formerly made uſe of many mean artifices, ſuch as feigning madneſs, ſickneſs, and a variety of diſeaſes, in order to protract his examination and procure his eſcape, he now reſolved to act his part with bravery and reſo-

lution. *'Tis a ſharp remedy*, ſaid he, *but a ſure one for all ills*, when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himſelf, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by ſtrong aſſeverations of facts, which, to ſay the leaſt, may be eſteemed very doubtful. With the utmoſt indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow. And in his death there appeared the ſame great, but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had diſplayed itſelf in all his conduct and behaviour.

The execution of a ſentence which had been ſo long ſuſpended, gave general diſſatisfaction. And it was rendered ſtill more invidious by the intimate connexions which the king entered into with Spain. James had entertained an opinion, that any alliance below that of a great monarch, was unworthy of the prince of Wales. Gondomer, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, a man whoſe flattery was more artful becauſe covered with the appearance of frankneſs and ſincerity, had made offer, with an immenſe fortune, of the ſecond daughter of Spain to prince Charles. This propoſal was an artifice to prevent James from interfering in the tranſactions of Germany. On that part of the continent, the ſtates of Bohemia, inſpired by the love of civil and religious independence, were in arms againſt the emperor Ferdinand; conſcious of their own weakneſs to reſiſt the preparations of the houſe of Auſtria, they caſt their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine. They conſidered, that beſide commanding no deſpicable force of his own, he was ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that theſe princes, moved by the connexions of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would intereſt themſelves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatneſs. They there-

A. D. 1619.

therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they conſidered as elective; and the young palatine, ſtimulated by ambition, without conſulting either James or Maurice, whoſe oppoſition he foreſaw, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in ſupport of his new ſubjects.

The Engliſh, attached to the blood of their monarchs, and inveterate to the catholics, were on fire to engage in the quarrel. But James refuſed to patronize the revolt of ſubjects againſt their ſovereign. He denied to his ſon-in-law, the title of king of Bohemia; and forbade him to be prayed for in the churches by that appellation.

Meanwhile affairs every where haſtened to a criſis. Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In the Low Countries, Spinola collected a veteran army of thirty thouſand men. When Edmonds, the king's reſident at Bruſſels, made remonſtrances to the archduke Albert, he was anſwered, that the orders for this armament had been tranſmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the ſecret deſtination of it. Spinola again told the miniſter, that his orders were ſtill ſealed; but, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full ſatisfaction. It was more eaſy to ſee his intentions, than to prevent their ſucceſs. Almoſt at one time, it was known in England that Frederic, being defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and, meeting with no reſiſtance, except from ſome princes of the union, and from one Engliſh regiment of 2400 men, commanded by the brave ſir Horace Vere, had, in a little time, reduced the greater part of that principality. A. D. 1620.

The murmurs againſt the king's inactive diſpoſition

ſition were very high. But James flattered himſelf, that after he had formed an intimate connexion with the Spaniſh monarch by means of his ſon's marriage, the reſtitution of the Palatinate might be procured from the motive alone of friendſhip, and perſonal attachment. He was however far from openly avowing the meaſures he was determined to purſue; to engage his people to furniſh him with ſupplies, he tried the expedient of a benevolence. Diſappointed in this, he had recourſe to parliament; and though the commons, on being informed that he had remitted ſeveral conſiderable ſums to the palatine, voted him without a negative two ſubſidies, they followed up that vote with an examination of grievances.

A. D. 1621.

Theſe grievances which conſiſted of oppreſſive patents that had been granted by the crown, met from the king with a gracious reception. He ſeemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himſelf aſhamed, that ſuch abuſes, unknowingly to him, had creeped into his adminiſtration. "I aſſure you," ſaid he, "had I before "heard theſe things complained of, I would have "done the office of a juſt king, and out of parlia-"ment have puniſhed them, as ſeverely, and per-"adventure more, than you now intend to do."

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the commons carried their ſcrutiny into other abuſes of importance. The great ſeal was, at that time, in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created viſcount St. Albans: a man univerſally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for the courteouſneſs and humanity of his behaviour. But his want of economy, and his indulgence to ſervants had involved him in neceſſities; and to ſupply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes from the ſuitors in chancery. The commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the peers; and Bacon himſelf acknowledged twenty eight articles of the charge. He was ſentenced to pay a fine of 40,000 pounds, to be impriſoned

priſoned in the Tower during the king's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to ſit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

This dreadful ſentence, dreadful to a man of nice ſenſibility to honour, he ſurvived five years; and, being releaſed in a little time from the Tower, his genius, yet unbroken, ſupported itſelf amidſt involved circumſtances and a depreſſed ſpirit, and ſhone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weakneſſes to be forgotten or overlooked by poſterity. In conſideration of his great merit, the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his ſentence, conferred on him a large penſion of 1800 pounds a-year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes.

This diſpoſition of the houſe to notice complaints, induced the king to adjourn them for ſix months; this interval he employed in aboliſhing patents, and in courting popularity; but the ſtate of affairs in Germany thwarted all his meaſures. Frederic languiſhed in poverty and exile in Holland; the victorious Auſtrian exerciſed every ſpecies of cruelty againſt the profeſſors of the reformed religion throughout the conquered palatinates; and no ſooner were the commons aſſembled, than they intreated his majeſty to turn his ſword againſt Spain, whoſe arms were the chief ſupport of the catholic intereſt; and that he would enter into no negociation for the marriage of his ſon, but with a proteſtant princeſs.

As ſoon as the king heard of this remonſtrance, he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he ſharply rebuked the houſe for debating things above their capacity; and avowed his intention to puniſh any man whoſe inſolent behaviour there ſhould miniſter occaſion of offence. The commons were inflamed by this violent letter, not terrified. In a new remonſtrance they inſiſted on their former advice; they maintained they were entitled to interpoſe with

their counſel in all matters of government; and if any member abuſed the liberty of ſpeech, it belonged only to the houſe to inflict a proper cenſure on him.

The anſwer of the king was prompt and ſharp. He told the houſe that their remonſtrance was more like a denunciation of war, than an addreſs of dutiful ſubjects; and he concluded with theſe memorable words: *and though we cannot allow of your ſtyle, in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wiſhed that ye had ſaid, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us, (for the moſt of them grew from precedents, which ſhews rather a toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleaſed to give you our royal aſſurance, that as long as you contain yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predeceſſors were, nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative.*

The commons determined to oppoſe pretenſion to pretenſion; and they aſſerted, *that the liberties, franchiſes, privileges, and juriſdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the ſubjects of England.*

The king, informed of theſe increaſing jealouſies, hurried to town. He ſent for the journals of the commons, and tore out this proteſtation; and as the meeting of the houſe might have proved dangerous after this breach, he prorogued the parliament; and ſoon after diſſolved it by proclamation.

The leading members of the houſe, ſir Edward Coke and ſir Robert Philips, were committed to the Tower: Selden, Pym, and Mallory, to other priſons. As a lighter puniſhment, ſir Dudley Digges, ſir Thomas Crew, ſir Nathaniel Rich, ſir James Perrot, joined in commiſſion with others, were ſent to Ireland, in order to execute ſome buſineſs. The king, at that time, enjoyed, at leaſt exerciſed, the prerogative of employing any man, even without his conſent, in any branch of public ſervice.

Sir

Sir John Savile, a powerful man in the houſe of commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the houſehold, a privy counſellor, and ſoon after a baron. This event is memorable; as being the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in the whole hiſtory of England, of any king's advancing a man on account of parliamentary intereſt, and of oppoſition to his meaſures. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political reaſoners, as one of the moſt early and moſt infallible ſymptoms of a regular eſtabliſhed liberty.

The king had by reiterated proclamations, prohibited the diſcourſing on ſtate affairs; but ſuch proclamations ſerved rather to inflame the curioſity of the public. A. D. 1622.

With domeſtic politics thoſe of the continent were intermingled. Frederic had made vigorous efforts for the recovery of his dominions; of three armies which he had raiſed, two had been defeated. But the third, under count Mansfeldt, though much inferior in force to its enemies, ſtill maintained the war. James, however, believed no official ſervice could be expected from it, and he perſuaded his ſon-in-law to diſarm under colour of ſubmiſſion to the emperor; and to truſt to the effects of his negociations.

How little theſe negociations were reſpected, may be gathered from a pleaſantry, mentioned by all hiſtorians. In a farce, acted at Bruſſels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news that the palatinate would ſoon be wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria; ſo powerful were the ſuccours, which, from all quarters, were haſtening to the relief of the deſpoiled elector: The king of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his aſſiſtance a hundred thouſand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thouſand butter-boxes, and the king of England a hundred thouſand ambaſſadors. On other occaſions, he was painted with a ſcabbard, but without a ſword; or with a ſword, which nobody could draw, though ſeveral were pulling at it.

But

But it was from his connections with Spain that James hoped to obtain the reſtitution of the palatinate; and if he could effect his ſon's marriage with the Infanta, he doubted not but after ſo intimate a conjunction, the other point could eaſily be obtained. To remove all obſtacles, he diſpatched the earl of Briſtol as his ambaſſador to Philip the IVth, and to conciliate the court of Rome, from which a diſpenſation was requiſite, he iſſued public orders for diſcharging all popiſh recuſants who were impriſoned.

This meaſure, at which the puritans loudly murmured, was highly acceptable both to the courts of Rome and Madrid. The earl of Briſtol, a miniſter of vigilance and penetration, who had formerly oppoſed all alliance with the catholics, was now fully convinced of the ſincerity of Spain. He found that the Spaniards conſidered the marriage of the the infanta, and reſtitution of the palatinate as altogether inſeparable; nothing was wanting but the diſpenſation from Rome, which might be conſidered as a mere formality; when theſe flattering proſpects were blaſted by the temerity of a man, whom he had fondly exalted from a private condition, to be the bane of himſelf, of his family, and of his people.

Though ever ſince the fall of Somerſet, Buckingham had governed with uncontrolled ſway, whatever might be his accompliſhments as a courtier, he was utterly deſtitute of every talent of a miniſter. Headſtrong in his paſſions, and incapable equally of prudence and of diſſimulation: ſincere from violence rather than candour; expenſive from profuſion more than generoſity: he was a warm friend, and a furious enemy; but without any choice or diſcernment in either:

A coldneſs had taken place between
A. D. 1623. him and the prince of Wales, and becoming deſirous of an opportunity which might overcome the averſion of the prince, and envious of the credit acquired by Briſtol in the Spaniſh negociation, he repreſented to Charles, that a journey

ney to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fictions of Spaniſh romance, and ſuiting the amorous and enterpriſing character of that nation, muſt immediately introduce him to the princeſs under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer:

The mind of the young prince, replete with candour, was inflamed by theſe generous and romantic ideas, ſuggeſted by Buckingham. He agreed to make application to the king for his approbation. They choſe the moment of his kindeſt and moſt jovial humour; and more by the earneſtneſs which they expreſſed, than by the force of their reaſons, they obtained a haſty and unguarded conſent to their undertaking. And having engaged his promiſe to keep their purpoſe ſecret, they left him, in order to make preparations for the journey.

But no ſooner was the king alone, than his cautious temper ſuggeſted every difficulty and danger which could occur; and when the prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, he informed them, that he had changed his reſolution. The prince received the diſappointment with ſilent tears. But Buckingham preſumed to ſpeak in an imperious tone, and told the king that nobody in future would believe any thing he ſaid; and James aſſailed as well by the boiſterous importunities of Buckingham, as by the warm entreaties of his ſon, had again the weakneſs to aſſent to their propoſed journey.

The prince and Buckingham, attended only by ſir Francis Cottington, the prince's ſecretary, Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed chamber, and ſir Richard Graham, maſter of the horſe to Buckingham, paſſed diſguiſed and undiſcovered through France; and they even ventured to a court-ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards eſpouſed, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid; and ſurpriſed every body by a ſtep ſo unuſual

unuſual among great princes. The Spaniſh monarch immediately paid Charles a viſit, expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for the confidence repoſed in him, and made warm proteſtations of a correſpondent confidence and friendſhip. By the moſt ſtudious civilities, he ſhowed the reſpect which he bore to his royal gueſt. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have acceſs to him at all hours: he took the left hand of him on every occaſion, except in the apartments aſſigned to Charles; for there, he ſaid, the prince was at home: Charles was introduced into the palace with the ſame pomp and ceremony that attends the kings of Spain on their coronation: the council received public orders to obey him as the king himſelf: Olivarez too, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's preſence: all the priſons of Spain were thrown open, and all the priſoners received their freedom, as if the event, the moſt honourable and moſt fortunate, had happened to the monarchy: and every ſumptuary law with regard to apparel was ſuſpended during Charles's reſidence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only ſhown to her lover in public; the Spaniſh ideas of decency being ſo ſtrict, as not to allow of any farther intercourſe, till the arrival of the diſpenſation.

Meanwhile, Gregory XV. who granted the diſpenſation died, and Urban VIII. was choſen in his place. Upon this event the nuncio refuſed to deliver the diſpenſation, till it ſhould be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed ſending a new diſpenſation, in hopes that, during the prince's reſidence in Spain, ſome expedient might be fallen upon to effect his converſion. The king of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the firſt hint, Charles obtained permiſſion to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumſtances of elaborate civility and reſpect, which had attended

attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the ſpot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendſhip; and the prince, having ſworn to the obſervance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the Engliſh fleet at St. Andero.

The modeſt and temperate manners of Charles, had rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the Spaniſh nation. But in proportion as the prince was eſteemed, Buckingham was deſpiſed and hated; his ſallies of paſſion and his diſſolute pleaſures were objects of general averſion. Conſcious of the hatred of the Spaniards, that haughty favourite reſolved to employ all his credit to prevent the marriage. By what arguments he could engage the prince to ſuch a meaſure, we are ignorant of; but it is certain when Charles left Madrid, he was firmly determined, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions to break off the treaty.

It is not likely that Buckingham prevailed ſo eaſily with James to abandon a project, which, during ſo many years, had been the object of all his wiſhes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to a happy period. A rupture with Spain, and the loſs of two millions, were proſpects little agreeable to this pacific and indigent monarch. But, finding his only ſon bent againſt a match, which had always been oppoſed by his people and his parliament, he yielded to the difficulties which he had not courage or ſtrength of mind ſufficient to overcome. The prince therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, aſſumed entirely the direction of the negociation; and it was their buſineſs to ſeek for pretences, by which they could give a colour to their intended breach of treaty.

After many fruitleſs artifices were employed to prevent the eſpouſals, Briſtol received poſitive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finiſh the marriage, till ſecurity were given for the full reſtitution of the palatinate. Philip underſtood this language. He had been acquainted with

with the diſguſt received by Buckingham; and deeming him a man capable of ſacrificing to his own ungovernable paſſions, the greateſt intereſts of his maſter and of his country, he had expected, that the unbounded credit of that favourite would be employed to embroil the two nations. Determined, however, to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the Engliſh, he delivered into Briſtol's hand a written promiſe, by which he bound himſelf to procure the reſtoration of the Palatinate, either by perſuaſion, or by every other poſſible means! and, when he found that this conceſſion gave no ſatisfaction, he ordered the infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe bore after the arrival of the diſpenſation from Rome, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language.

A. D. 1624. The king having broken with Spain, was obliged by his pecuniary diſtreſs to ſummon once more a parliament. In that aſſembly, Buckingham declared that he had found ſuch artificial dealing in the court of Madrid, as made him conclude all the ſteps taken towards the marriage to be falſe and deceitful; and that the reſtitution of the palatinate which had ever been regarded by the king as an eſſential preliminary, was not ſeriouſly intended. This narrative was vouched for truth by the prince of Wales who was preſent; and the parliament, charmed with the opportunity of going to war with the papiſts, loaded Buckingham with applauſe, which was re-echoed by the populace.

James was borne down by the torrent to engage in hoſtile meaſures; but when, after touching on his own debts, he demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies, and twelve fifteenths to commence the war, and offered that the money voted ſhould be paid to a committee of parliament, and ſhould be iſſued by them without being intruſted to his management, the commons, though they willingly accepted this conceſſion, ſo unuſual in an Engliſh monarch, voted him

him only three ſubſidies and three fifteenths; and took no notice of the complaints which he made of his own neceſſities.

Advantage was taken of the preſent good agreement between the king and parliament, to paſs a bill againſt monopolies. This bill was conceived in ſuch terms as to render it declaratory; all monopolies were condemned as contrary to law. It was there ſuppoſed, that every ſubject of England had power to diſpoſe of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow ſubjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magiſtrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could reſtrain that unlimited freedom. The full proſecution of this noble principle into all its natural conſequences, has at laſt, through many conteſts, produced that ſingular and happy government which we enjoy at preſent.

To an addreſs craving the ſevere execution of the laws againſt catholics, James had given a gracious anſwer; but he ſoon after prorogued the parliament, and let fall ſome hints, though in gentle terms, of the ſenſe which he entertained of their unkindneſs, in not ſupplying his neceſſities.

The king had been compelled by the combination of his people, his parliament, his ſon, and his favourite, to embrace meaſures to which he entertained a ſettled averſion. Though he diſſembled his reſentment, he began to eſtrange himſelf from Buckingham, to whom he aſcribed all thoſe violent counſels; and he impatiently longed for the arrival of Briſtol, whoſe wiſdom he reſpected. That miniſter was enraged to find that his labours, were rendered abortive by the levity and caprices of an inſolent minion; and it was of the greateſt conſequence to Buckingham to keep him at a diſtance both from the king and parliament. He applied therefore to James, whoſe weakneſs, diſguiſed to himſelf under the appearance of fineſſe and diſſimulation, was now become abſolutely incurable,

curable. A warrant for ſending Briſtol to the Tower was iſſued immediately upon his arrival in England; and though he was ſoon releaſed from confinement, yet orders were carried him from the king, to retire to his country ſeat, and to abſtain from all attendance in parliament. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter. On all occaſions he proteſted his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miſcarriage. Buckingham, and at his inſtigation, the prince, declared, that they would be reconciled to Briſtol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill-conduct: But the ſpirited nobleman, jealous of his honour, refuſed to buy favour at ſo high a price. James had the equity to ſay, that the inſiſting on that condition was a ſtrain of unexampled tyranny: but Buckingham ſcrupled not to aſſert, with his uſual preſumption, that neither the king, the prince, nor himſelf, were as yet ſatisfied with Briſtol's innocence.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador had alſo made an attempt to open the eyes of James by ſlipping into his hand a paper, in which he told him he was as much a priſoner at London, as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; what credit James gave to this repreſentation does not appear. He only diſcovered ſome faint ſymptoms, which he inſtantly retracted, of diſſatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public meaſures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were founded on the ſyſtem of enmity to the Auſtrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the palatinate.

A. D. 1625. The united provinces, governed by prince Maurice, had at the end of the twelve years truce, renewed the war againſt Spain; and to ſupport them, an army of ſix thouſand men was levied in England, and ſent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, Eſſex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in ſo

popular a cauſe, and of acquiring military experience under ſo renowned a captain as Maurice.

As the match with the Infanta, it was pretended, had been broken off on religious ſcruples, it might have been expected, that the ſame reaſons would have precluded a marriage between the prince and Henrietta of France; eſpecially, as from this union no advantages in regard to the palatinate were to be drawn. But James ſeemed to be afraid leſt his ſon ſhould be diſappointed of a bride, and entered into the negociation with an ardour which ſoon brought it to a concluſion.

This meaſure was much more agreeable to the king than the enterpriſes of war. But the Engliſh nation appeared bent on recovering the palatinate; a a ſtate lying in the midſt of Germany, and cut off from all communication with England. For this purpoſe twelve thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, were embarked under count Mansfeldt; but ſo ill had every thing been concerted, that they were neither permitted to land at Calais or Middleburgh. Cooped ſo long up in narrow veſſels, a peſtilential diſorder infected the men; half of the army died while on board, and the other half, were too ſmall a body to march into the palatinate.

With peace, which James had ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated, his life alſo terminated. This ſpring he was ſeized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that ſuch a diſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After ſome fits, he found himſelf extremely weakened, and ſent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preſerve a conſtancy in religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the palatine. With decency and courage he prepared himſelf for his end; and he expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and

ſome days; and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almoſt of equal duration with his life. In all hiſtory, it would be difficult to find a reign leſs illuſtrious, yet more unſpotted and unblemiſhed, than that of James in both kingdoms.

James, it muſt however be owned, poſſeſſed many virtues, though ſcarce any free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generoſity bordered on profuſion, his learning on pedantry, his pacification on puſillanimity, his wiſdom on cunning, and of political courage, he certainly was deſtitute; and thence chiefly is derived the ſtrong prejudice which prevails againſt his perſonal bravery: an inference, however, which muſt be owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

He ſurvived his conſort Anne, of Denmark, about ſix years; and left by her only one ſon, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector palatine. She was aged twenty-nine years. Thoſe alone remained of ſix legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never diſcovered any tendency, even the ſmalleſt, towards a paſſion for any miſtreſs.

The numbers of the houſe of lords, in the firſt parliament of this reign, were ſeventy-eight temporal peers. The numbers in the firſt parliament of Charles were ninety-ſeven. Conſequently James, during that period, created nineteen new peerages above thoſe that expired.

The houſe of commons, in the firſt parliament of this reign, conſiſted of four hundred and ſixty-ſeven members. It appears, that four boroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected. And as the firſt parliament of Charles conſiſted of four hundred and ninety-four members, we may infer that James created ten new boroughs.

The manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical

monarchical government which prevailed; and contained not that ſtrange mixture which at preſent diſtinguiſhes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown of induſtry and debauchery, frugality and profuſion, civility and ruſticity, fanaticiſm and ſcepticiſm. Candour, ſincerity, modeſty, are the only qualities which the Engliſh of that age poſſeſſed in common with the preſent.

High pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and ſtatelineſs of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the common people. Great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not as yet been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of diſtinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourſe of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages which reſult from opulence are ſo ſolid and real, that thoſe who are poſſeſſed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors. The diſtinctions of birth and title, being more empty and imaginary, ſoon vaniſh from familiar acceſs and acquaintance.

Civil honours, which now hold the firſt place, were at that time ſubordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by arms. The fury of duels too prevailed more than at any time before or ſince. This was the turn that the romantic chivalry for which the nation was formerly ſo renowned, had lately taken.

The country life prevails at preſent in England beyond any cultivated nation of Europe; but it was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry. The increaſe of arts, pleaſures, and ſocial commerce, was juſt beginning to produce an inclination for the ſofter and the more civilized life of the city. James diſcouraged as much as poſſible this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be very

" earneſt," as lord Bacon tells us, " with the " country gentlemen to go from London to their " country ſeats. And ſometimes he would ſay thus " to them: *Gentlemen, at London, you are like ſhips " in a ſea, which ſhow like nothing; but in your coun- " try villages you are like ſhips in a river, which look " like great things.*"

The amount of the king's revenue, as it ſtood in 1617, is thus ſtated: of crown lands 80,000 pounds a-year; by cuſtoms and new impoſition, near 190,000; by wards and other various branches of revenue, beſides purveyance, 180,000. The whole amounting to 450,000. The king's ordinary diſburſements, by the ſame account, are ſaid to exceed this ſum thirty-ſix thouſand pounds. All the extraordinary ſums which James had raiſed by ſubſidies, loans, ſale of lands, ſale of the title of baronet, money paid by the ſtates, and by the king of France, benevolences, &c. were in the whole about two millions two hundred thouſand pounds: of which the ſale of lands afforded ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds. The extraordinary diſburſements of the king amounted to two millions; beſide above four hundred thouſand pounds given in preſents. Upon the whole, a ſufficient reaſon appears, partly from neceſſary expences, partly for want of a rigid œconomy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to ſupport the government.

The cuſtoms were ſuppoſed to amount to five *per cent.* on the value, and were levied upon exports as well as imports. Nay, the impoſition upon exports, by James's additions, is ſaid to amount in ſome few inſtances to twenty-five *per cent.* This practice, ſo hurtful to induſtry, prevails ſtill in France, Spain, and moſt countries of Europe. The cuſtoms in 1604 yielded 127,000 pounds a-year: they roſe to 190,000 towards the end of the reign.

The price of corn during this reign, and that of the

the other neceſſaries of life, were rather higher than at preſent. By a proclamation of James, eſtabliſhing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two ſhillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, barley below ſixteen, the commiſſioners were empowered to purchaſe corn for the magazines. Theſe prices then are to be regarded as low; though they would rather paſs for high by our preſent eſtimation. The uſual bread of the poor was at this time made of barley. The beſt wool, during the greater part of James's reign, was at thirty-three ſhillings a tod. At preſent it is not above two-thirds of that value; though it is to be preſumed, that our exports in woollen goods are ſomewhat increaſed. The finer manufactures too, by the progreſs of arts and induſtry, have rather diminiſhed in price, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money. In Shakeſpeare, the hoſteſs tells Falſtaff, that the ſhirts ſhe bought him were holland at eight ſhillings a yard; a high price at this day, even ſuppoſing, what is not probable, that the beſt holland at that time was equal in goodneſs to the beſt that can now be purchaſed. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two and twenty ſhillings. It appears from Dr. Birch's life of prince Henry, that that prince, by contract with his butcher, payed near a groat a pound throughout the year for all the beef and mutton uſed in his family. Beſides, we muſt conſider, that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting of arable land into paſture. A certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and conſequently that all butcher's meat, as well as bread, was rather higher than at preſent. We have a regulation of the market with regard to poultry and ſome other articles very early in Charles I's reign; and the prices are high. A turkey-cock four ſhillings and ſix-pence, a turkey-hen three ſhillings, a pheaſant cock ſix, a pheaſant hen five, a partridge one ſhilling, a gooſe two, a capon two and

ſix-pence, a pullet one and ſix-pence, a rabbit eight-pence, a dozen of pigeons ſix ſhillings. We muſt conſider, that London at preſent is more than three times more populous than it was at that time: a circumſtance which much increaſes the price of poultry, and of every thing that cannot conveniently be brought from a diſtance: not to mention that theſe regulations by authority are always calculated to diminiſh, never to increaſe the market prices.

The public was entirely free from the danger and expence of a ſtanding army. The militia amounting to 160,000 men, was the ſole defence of the kingdom. The city of London procured officers who had ſerved abroad to diſcipline their trained bands; and all the counties were emulous of the capital in training their militia.

London at this time was almoſt entirely built of wood, and in every reſpect was certainly a very ugly city. The earl of Arundel firſt introduced the general practice of brick buildings.

The navy of England was eſteemed formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it conſiſted only of thirty-three ſhips, beſides pinnaces: and the largeſt of theſe would not equal our fourth-rates at preſent. Raleigh adviſes never to build a ſhip of war above 600 tons. James was not negligent of the navy. In five years preceding 1623, he built ten new ſhips, and expended fifty thouſand pounds a year on the fleet, beſide the value of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds in the timber, which he annually gave from the royal foreſts. The largeſt ſhip that had ever come from the Engliſh docks was built during this reign. She was only 1400 tons, and carried ſixty-four guns. The merchant ſhips, in caſes of neceſſity, were inſtantly converted into ſhips of war. The king affirmed to the parliament, that the navy had never before been in ſo good a condition.

By an account which ſeems judicious and accurate, it appears that all the ſeamen employed in the merchant ſervice amounted to 10,000 men, which probaby

probably exceeds not the fifth part of their preſent number. Sir Thomas Overbury ſays, that the Dutch poſſeſſed three times more ſhipping than the Engliſh, but that their ſhips were of inferior burden to thoſe of the latter. Sir William Monſon computed the Engliſh naval power to be little or nothing inferior to the Dutch, which is ſurely an exaggeration. The Dutch at this time traded to England with ſix hundred ſhips; England to Holland with ſixty only.

The Engliſh at this time ſeem only to have excelled in ſhip-building, and the founding of iron cannon. Nine tenths of the commerce of the kingdom, conſiſted on woollen goods. Moſt of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dreſſed by the Dutch. In ſo little credit was the fine Engliſh cloth even at home, that the king was obliged to ſeek expedients by which he might engage the people of faſhion to wear it. The manufacture of fine linen was totally unknown in the kingdom.

The exports of England from Chriſtmas 1612 to Chriſtmas 1613 are computed at 2,487,435 pounds: the imports at 2,141,151: ſo that the balance in favour of England was 346,284. But in 1622 the exports were 2,320,436 pounds; the imports 2,619,315; which makes a balance of 298,879 pounds againſt England. The coinage of England from 1599 to 1619 amounted to 4,779,314 pounds 13 ſhillings and 4 pence: a proof that the balance in the main was conſiderably in favour of the kingdom. As the annual imports and exports together roſe to near five millions, and the cuſtoms never yielded ſo much as 200,000 pounds a year, of which tonnage made a part, it appears that the new rates affixed by James did not, on the whole, amount to one ſhilling in the pound, and conſequently were ſtill inferior to the intention of the original grant of parliament. The Eaſt-India company uſually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities. The trade to Turkey was one of the moſt gainful to the nation. It appears that copper halfpence and far-

things began to be coined in this reign. Tradeſmen had commonly carried on their retail buſineſs chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The ſmall ſilver penny was ſoon loſt, and at this time was no where to be found.

What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the Engliſh colonies in America. That fine coaſt reaching from St. Auguſtine to Cape Breton, which had been neglected by the Spaniards, was gradually peopled from England. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony to Virginia, and began a ſettlement which that company erected by patent for that purpoſe in London and Briſtol, took care to ſupply with yearly recruits of proviſions, utenſils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal diſcovered a more direct and ſhorter paſſage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had firſt directed their courſe ſouthwards to the tropic, ſailed weſtwards by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the Engliſh ſettlements. The ſame year, five hundred perſons under ſir Thomas Gates and ſir George Somers were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ſhip, meeting with a tempeſt, was driven into the Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a ſettlement in thoſe iſlands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the Engliſh colonies: But notwithſtanding all his care, ſeconded by ſupplies from James, and by money raiſed from the firſt lottery ever known in the kingdom, ſuch difficulties attended the ſettlement of theſe countries, that in 1614 there were not alive more than four hundred men, of all that had been ſent thither. After ſupplying themſelves with proviſions more immediately neceſſary for the ſupport of life, the new planters began the cultivating of tobacco; and James, notwithſtanding his antipathy to that drug, which he affirmed to be pernicious to men's morals as well as their health, gave them permiſſion to enter it in England; and he inhibited by proclamation all importation

portation of it from Spain. By degrees, new colonies were eſtabliſhed in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they ſettled, leaving that of Virginia to the province firſt planted. The iſland of Barbadoes was alſo planted in this reign.

Learning, on its revival in England, was marked by glaring figures of diſcourſe, the pointed antitheſis, the unnatural conceit, and jingle of words. And what may be regarded as a misfortune, the Engliſh writers were poſſeſſed of great genius before they were endowed with any degree of taſte; and by that means gave a kind of ſanction to thoſe forced turns and ſentiments which they ſo much affected. Shakeſpeare, in his compoſitions, has frequently disfigured his moſt animated and paſſionate ſcenes by irregularities, and even abſurdities. Nervous and picturesque expreſſions, as well as deſcriptions, abound in him; but it is in vain we look either for purity or ſimplicity of diction. A great and fertile genius he certainly poſſeſſed, and one enriched equally with a tragic and comic vein; but he ought to be cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on theſe advantages alone for attaining an excellence in the finer arts.

Jonſon poſſeſſed all the learning which was wanting to Shakeſpeare, and wanted all the genius which the other poſſeſſed, a ſervile copyiſt of the ancients. He tranſlated into bad Engliſh the beautiful paſſages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. He had a penſion of a hundred marks from the king, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds.

Fairfax has tranſlated Taſſo with elegance and eaſe; nor is Harrington's Arioſto without its merit; and in Donne's ſatires, when carefully inſpected, many flaſhes of wit and ingenuity appear.

In proſe, Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World, and Camden's Hiſtory of Elizabeth, are both deſervedly eſteemed; but the great glory of literature in this iſland, during the reign of James, was lord Bacon.

If

If we conſider the variety of talents diſplayed by this man; as a public ſpeaker, a man of buſineſs, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philoſopher; he is juſtly the object of great admiration. If we conſider him merely as an author, and philoſopher, the light in which we view him at preſent, though very eſtimable, he was yet inferior to his cotemporary Galilæo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a diſtance the road to true philoſophy: Galilæo, both pointed it out to others, and made himſelf conſiderable advances in it. The Engliſhman was ignorant of geometry: the Florentine revived that ſcience, excelled in it, and was the firſt that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philoſophy. The former rejected, with the moſt poſitive diſdain, the ſyſtem of Copernicus: the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reaſon and the ſenſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

CHARLES I.

Parliaments.—Impeachment of Buckingham.—War with France.—Expedition to the Iſle of Rhé.—Petition of Rights.—Death of Buckingham.—Tonnage and Poundage.—Peace with France and Spain.—State of the Court.—Character of the Queen.—Strafford.—Laud.—Innovations in the Church.—Ship-Money.—Trial of Hambden.—Diſcontents in Scotland.—The Covenant.—Epiſcopacy aboliſhed.—War.—Pacification.—Renewal of the War.—Rout at Newburn.—Treaty at Rippon.—Great Council of the Peers.

THE impatience which Charles, on his acceſſion, teſtified to aſſemble the parliament, was delayed by the arrival of the princeſs Henrietta, whom he had eſpouſed by proxy. But no ſooner was the marriage ceremony celebrated in England, than he iſſued writs for the election of the members. His diſcourſe to them on their meeting was full of ſimplicity, and cordiality; and, depending on their affections, he was reſolved that their bounty ſhould be entirely their own deed, unaſked and unſolicited. A. D. 1625.

But when the houſe of commons took into conſideration the buſineſs of ſupply, though they were acquainted with the difficulty of military enterpriſes directed againſt the whole houſe of Auſtria, and knew that no impreſſion could be made on theſe mighty potentates, without a vigorous offenſive war; they limited their grant to two ſubſidies, or about 112,000l.

It

It is not to be doubted but ſpleen and ill-will, againſt the duke of Buckingham, whoſe arrogance rendered it impoſſible for him long to preſerve the affections of the people, had an influence with many in this diſtruſt and exceſſive frugality towards their young ſovereign. The match with France, and the articles in favour of the catholics, had proved alſo occaſions of offence to the rigid puritans; while another party, which compriſed ſir Edward Coke, ſir Edward Sandys, ſir Robert Philips, ſir Francis Seymour, ſir Dudley Digges, ſir John Elliot, ſir Thomas Wentworth, and Mr. Pym, animated with a warm regard for freedom, and indignant at the unbounded power exerciſed by the crown, were determined to grant no ſupplies to their neceſſitous prince, without extorting conceſſions in favour of civil liberty.

To Charles, the refuſal of ſupply appeared cruel and deceitful; and when he perceived that this meaſure proceeded from an intention of incroaching on his authority, he failed not to regard theſe claims as highly criminal and traitorous. Taught to conſider even the ancient laws and conſtitution more as lines to direct his conduct, than barriers to withſtand his power; a conſpiracy to erect new ramparts in order to ſtraighten his authority, appeared but one degree removed from open ſedition and rebellion. So atrocious in his eyes was ſuch a deſign, that he ſeems even unwilling to impute it to the commons: and though he was conſtrained to adjourn the parliament, by reaſon of the plague, which at that time raged in London; he immediately re-aſſembled them at Oxford, and made a new attempt to gain from them ſome ſupplies in ſuch an urgent neceſſity.

He told the parliament that by a promiſe of ſubſidies he had engaged the king of Denmark to take part in the war; that this monarch intended to enter Germany by the north: that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an Engliſh army into the palatinate: that no leſs a ſum than 700,000 pounds a-year

a-year was requiſite for theſe purpoſes: that the maintenance of the fleet, and the defence of Ireland, demanded an annual expence of 400,000 pounds; that he himſelf had already exhauſted and anticipated in the public ſervice his whole revenue, and had ſcarcely left ſufficient for the daily ſubſiſtence of himſelf and his family; that on his acceſſion to the crown, he found a debt of above 300,000 pounds, contracted by his father in ſupport of the palatine; and that, while prince of Wales, he had himſelf contracted debts, notwithſtanding his great frugality, to the amount of 70,000 pounds, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments.

The commons, however, ſtill remained inexorable; and a new diſcovery tended ſtill more to inflame them againſt the duke of Buckingham. When James courted the alliance of France, he had promiſed to ſupply Lewis with eight ſhips of war; theſe the French court pretended they would employ againſt the Genoeſe, the firm allies of the Spaniſh monarchy. When the veſſels arrived at Dieppe, there aroſe a ſuſpicion that they were to ſerve againſt Rochelle. The ſailors broke out into a furious mutiny; and even Pennington, their admiral, declared that he would rather be hanged in England for diſobedience, than fight againſt his brother proteſtants in France. The whole ſquadron ſailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Dieppe. As the duke knew that authority alone would not ſuffice, he employed much art and many ſubtilties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour which was ſpread, that peace had been concluded between the French king and the hugonots, aſſiſted him in his purpoſe. When they arrived at Dieppe they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the veſſels, broke through and returned to England. All the officers and ſailors of all the other ſhips, notwith-

notwithſtanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deſerted.

On intelligence of theſe tranſactions, great murmurs prevailed in parliament. The commons renewed their eternal complaints againſt the growth of popery. Charles gave them a gracious and compliant anſwer; but finding the parliament would grant him no ſupply, he took advantage of the plague which began to appear at Oxford and on that pretence immediately diſſolved them.

To ſupply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles iſſued privy-ſeals for borrowing money from his ſubjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a ſmall compenſation for the diſguſt which it occaſioned: by means, however, of that ſupply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet. It conſiſted of eighty veſſels great and ſmall; and carried on board an army of 10,000 men. Sir Edward Cecil, lately created viſcount Wimbleton, was intruſted with the command. He ſailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spaniſh ſhips of great value. He either neglected to attack theſe ſhips, or attempted it prepoſterouſly. The army was landed and a fort taken: but the undiſciplined ſoldiers, finding ſtore of wine, could not be reſtrained from the utmoſt exceſſes. Farther ſtay appearing fruitleſs, they were reimbarked; and the fleet put to ſea with an intention of intercepting the Spaniſh galleons. But the plague having ſeized the ſeamen and ſoldiers, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and return to England.

Charles having failed in ſo rich a prize,
A. D. 1626. was obliged again to have recourſe to a parliament; but though he named four popular leaders, Coke, Philips, Wentworth, and Seymour, ſheriffs for counties to prevent their being elected, patriots were not wanting; and the new houſe of commons adopted the ſentiments of their predeceſſors. When the king laid before the houſe

his neceſſities, and aſked for ſupply, they immediately voted him three ſubſidies and three fifteenths; and though they afterwards added one ſubſidy more, the ſum was little proportioned to the greatneſs of the occaſion, and ill fitted to promote thoſe views of ſucceſs and glory for which the young prince in his firſt enterpriſe ſo ardently longed. But this circumſtance was not the moſt diſagreeable one. The ſupply was only *voted* by the commons. The paſſing of that vote into a law was reſerved till the end of the ſeſſion. A condition was thereby made, in a very undiſguiſed manner, with their ſovereign. Under colour of redreſſing grievances, which during this ſhort reign could not be very numerous, they were to proceed in regulating and controling every part of government which diſpleaſed them: and if the king either cut them ſhort in this undertaking, or refuſed compliance with their demands, he muſt not expect any ſupply from the commons. Great diſſatisfaction was expreſſed by Charles at a treatment which he deemed ſo harſh and undutiful. But his urgent neceſſities obliged him to ſubmit; and he waited with patience, obſerving to what ſide they would turn themſelves.

The duke of Buckingham, long obnoxious to the public, became every day more unpopular. The earl of Briſtol, after having tried every way to conciliate the regard of Charles, had joined the patriotic party, had accuſed that haughty favourite of treaſon; and publiſhed a clear account of the negociation with the court of Spain, and the houſe of Auſtria. The commons accuſed the duke of having united many offices in his perſon; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the ſeas, inſomuch that many merchant-ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ſhips to the French king in order to ſerve againſt the hugonots; of being employed in the ſale of honours and offices; of accepting extenſive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred;

kindred; and of adminiſtering phyſic to the late king without acquainting his phyſicians. The impeachment never came to a full determination; and though lying under it, Buckingham was, about this time, by court-intereſt, elected chancellor of Cambridge, in the room of the earl of Suffolk.

The lord keeper, in the king's name, expreſsly commanded the houſe not to meddle with Buckingham, but to finiſh the bill which they had begun for the ſubſidies; and two members, Digges and Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment againſt the duke, were thrown into priſon. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon buſineſs, till they had ſatisfaction in their privileges. Charles alledged, as the reaſon of this meaſure, certain ſeditious expreſſions, which, he ſaid, had, in their accuſation of the duke, dropped from theſe members. Upon enquiry it appeared that no ſuch expreſſions had been uſed. The members were releaſed, and the king reaped no other benefit from this attempt than to exaſperate the houſe ſtill farther, and to ſhow ſome degree of precipitancy and indiſcretion.

Moved by this example, the houſe of peers were rouſed from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower. After many fruitleſs evaſions, the king, though ſomewhat ungracefully, was at laſt obliged to comply. And in this incident it ſufficiently appeared, that the lords, how little ſo ever inclined to popular courſes, were not wanting in a juſt ſenſe of their own dignity.

The commons again claimed the execution of the penal laws againſt catholics; they were alſo framing a remonſtrance againſt the levying tonnage and poundage without the conſent of parliament. The king was alarmed at the yoke which he ſaw prepared for him. His favourite was attacked, his prerogative was in danger. To ſuch uſurpations it appeared neceſſary to oppoſe a proper firmneſs; and

he

he determined immediately to diſſolve the parliament. When this reſolution was known, the houſe of peers, whoſe compliant behaviour intitled them to ſome authority with him, endeavoured to enterpoſe; and they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to ſit ſome time longer. *Not a moment longer*, cried the king haſtily; and he ſoon after ended the ſeſſion by a diſſolution.

As this meaſure was foreſeen, the commons took care to finiſh and diſperſe their remonſtrance, which they intended as a juſtification of their conduct to the people. The king likewiſe, on his part, publiſhed a declaration, in which he gave the reaſons of his diſagreement with the parliament, and of their ſudden diſſolution, before they had time to conclude any one act. Theſe papers furniſhed the partizans on both ſides with ample matter of apology or of recrimination. But all impartial men judged, "*That* "the commons, though they had not as yet vio- "lated any law, yet, by their unpliableneſs and "independence, were inſenſibly changing, perhaps "improving, the ſpirit and genius, while they pre- "ſerved the forms of the conſtitution: and *that* the "king was acting altogether without any plan; "running on in a road ſurrounded on all ſides with "the moſt dangerous precipices, and concerting no "proper meaſures, either for ſubmitting to the ob- "ſtinacy of the commons, or for ſubduing it."

Charles had threatened the commons, that unleſs they furniſhed him with ſupplies, he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to *new counſels*. Theſe were now to be tried. A commiſſion was openly granted to compound with the catholics, by diſpenſing with the penal laws enacted againſt them. A loan was required both from the nobility and the city; the capital, as well as the different counties, were compelled to equip a certain number of ſhips. This is the firſt appearance, in Charles's reign, of ſhip-money; a taxation which had once been impoſed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried ſome

ſteps farther, by Charles, created ſuch violent diſcontents.

Of ſome, loans were required: to others, the way of benevolence was propoſed: methods ſupported by precedent, but always invidious, even in times more ſubmiſſive and compliant. In the moſt abſolute governments ſuch expedients would be regarded as irregular and unequal.

Theſe counſels for ſupply were conducted with ſome moderation, till the defeat of the king of Denmark by the imperialiſts. Money now became more neceſſary than ever, to repair this breach in the alliance. After ſome deliberations, an act of council was paſſed, importing, that as the urgency of affairs admitted not the way of parliament, the moſt ſpeedy, equal, and convenient method of ſupply was by a GENERAL LOAN from the ſubject, according as every man was aſſeſſed in the rolls of the laſt ſubſidy. That preciſe ſum was required which each would have paid, had the vote of four ſubſidies paſſed into a law: but care was taken to inform the people, that the ſums exacted were not to be called ſubſidies, but loans. Had any doubt remained, whether forced loans, however authoriſed by precedent, and even by ſtatute, were a violation of liberty, and muſt, by neceſſary conſequence, render all parliaments ſuperfluous; this was the proper expedient for opening the eyes of the whole nation.

While the king thus employed the whole extent of his prerogative, the ſpirit of the people was far from being ſubdued. Some who had been moſt active in encouraging their neighbours to refuſe the loan, and to inſiſt upon their common rights and privileges, were by warrant of the council thrown into priſon. Of theſe, ſir Thomas Darnel, ſir John Corbet, ſir Walter Earl, ſir John Heveningham, and ſir Edmond Hambden, had ſpirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releaſement, not as a favour from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their

their country. No particular cauſe was aſſigned for their commitment. The ſpecial command alone of the king and council was pleaded; and it was aſſerted, that, by law, this was not ſufficient reaſon for refuſing bail or releaſement to the priſoners.

The queſtion was brought to a ſolemn trial before the king's bench; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the iſſue of a cauſe, which was of greater conſequence than the event of many battles. It appeared beyond controverſy, that perſonal liberty had been ſecured againſt arbitrary power in the crown by ſix ſeveral ſtatutes, and by an article of the GREAT CHARTER. But the kings of England had found many pretences to elude theſe ſtatutes; the public itſelf had become ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity in turbulent times of prompt power in the crown, that theſe ancient laws in favour of perſonal liberty, while often violated, had never been challenged or revived during the courſe of three centuries. It was not till this age, when the ſpirit of liberty was univerſally diffuſed, the five gentlemen above mentioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cauſe, to bring the queſtion to a final determination. And the king was aſtoniſhed to obſerve, that a power, exerciſed by his predeceſſors, almoſt without interruption, was found, upon trial, to be directly oppoſite to the cleareſt laws, and ſupported by few undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. Theſe had ſcarcely, in any inſtance, refuſed bail upon commitments by ſpecial command of the king; becauſe the perſons committed had ſeldom or never dared to demand it, at leaſt to inſiſt on their demand.

Sir Randolf Crew, chief juſtice, had been diſplaced, as unfit for the purpoſes of the court: ſir Nicholas Hyde, eſteemed more obſequious, had obtained that high office: yet the judges, by his direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to priſon, and refuſe the bail which was offered. Heathe, the attorney-general, inſiſted, that the court, in imitation of the judges in the 34th of

Elizabeth, ſhould enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the king or council. But the judges wiſely declined complying. The nation, they ſaw, was already to the laſt degree exaſperated. In the preſent diſpoſition of mens' minds, univerſal complaints prevailed, as if the kingdom was reduced to ſlavery. And the moſt invidious prerogative of the crown, it was ſaid, that of impriſoning the ſubject, is here openly and ſolemnly, and in numerous inſtances, exerciſed for the moſt invidious purpoſe; in order to extort loans, or rather ſubſidies, without conſent of parliament.

But this was not the only hardſhip of which the nation then thought they had reaſon to complain. The army, which had made the fruitleſs expedition to Cadiz, was diſperſed throughout the kingdom; and money was levied upon the counties for the payment of their quarters.

The ſoldiers were billeted upon private houſes, contrary to cuſtom, which required that, in all ordinary caſes, they ſhould be quartered in inns and public houſes.

Thoſe who had refuſed or delayed the loan, were ſure to be loaded with a great number of theſe dangerous and diſorderly gueſts.

Many too, of low condition, who had ſhown a refractory diſpoſition, were preſſed into the ſervice, and inliſted in the fleet or army. Sir Peter Hayman, for the ſame reaſon, was diſpatched on an errand to the Palatinate. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy.

A. D. 1627. The licenciouſneſs of the ſoldiers occaſioned alſo martial law to be exerciſed; and by a contradiction which is natural when the people are exaſperated, the outrages of the ſoldiers were complained of, while the remedy was thought worſe than the diſeaſe.

It

It may eaſily be affirmed, that except a few courtiers and eccleſiaſtics all men were diſpleaſed with this new ſpirit of adminiſtration; but great was their ſurpriſe when Charles baffled in every attempt againſt the Auſtrian dominions, embroiled himſelf wantonly with France, and engaged at once in war with two powers whoſe intereſts had hitherto been deemed incompatible.

The war with France is univerſally aſcribed to Buckingham; and he was actuated in it by ſuch motives as would appear incredible, were we not acquainted with the violence and temerity of his character.

When Charles married by proxy, the princeſs Henrietta, the duke had been ſent to France to grace the eſpouſals. The beauty of his perſon, the gracefulneſs of his air, the ſplendour of his equipage, his addreſs, his gaiety, and his magnificence, were the general admiration, and excited a jealouſy in Richelieu; a jealouſy not founded on rivalſhip of power and politics, but of love and gallantry, where the duke was as much ſuperior to the cardinal, as he was inferior in every other particular.

Encouraged by the ſmiles of the court, Buckingham dared to carry his ambitious addreſſes to the queen herſelf, who ſeems to have encouraged his preſumption; in a ſecret viſit to her, he was diſmiſſed with a reproof which ſavoured more of kindneſs than of anger.

Information of this correſpondence was ſoon carried to Richelieu. The vigilance of that miniſter was here farther rouſed by jealouſy. He too, either from vanity or politics, had ventured to pay his addreſſes to the queen. But a prieſt, paſt middle age, of a ſevere character, and occupied in the moſt extenſive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match in that conteſt, for a young courtier, entirely diſpoſed to gaiety and gallantry. The cardinal's diſappointment ſtrongly inclined him to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival. When

the duke was making preparations for a new embaſſy to Paris, a meſſage was ſent him from Lewis, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey. In a romantic paſſion, he ſwore, *That he would ſee the queen, in ſpite of all the power of France*; and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He firſt took advantage of ſome quarrels excited by the queen of England's attendants; and he perſuaded Charles to diſmiſs at once all her French ſervants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the Engliſh ſhips of war and privateers to ſeize veſſels belonging to French merchants; and *theſe* he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a ſentence of the court of admiralty. But finding that all theſe injuries produced only remonſtrances and embaſſies, or at moſt repriſals, on the part of France, he reſolved to ſecond the intrigues of the duke of Soubize, and to undertake at once a military expedition againſt that kingdom.

Soubize, who with his brother the duke of Rohan, was the leader of the hugonot faction, was at that time in London, and ſtrongly ſolicited Charles to embrace the protection of theſe diſtreſſed religioniſts; he repreſented the ambitious cardinal as ſecretly meditating their total deſtruction; and the king, though he bore but ſmall favour to them from their reſemblance in religion and politics to the puritans, was yet gained by the arguments of Soubize, and the ſolicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred ſail, and an army of 7000 men, were entruſted to the command of the Duke; the inhabitants of Rochelle refuſed to admit allies, of whoſe coming they had not been previous informed; and Buckingham, after an injudicious attempt on the iſland of Rhé, in which he raſhly threw away the lives of his ſoldiers, began to think of a retreat, but made it ſo unſkilfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout: he was the laſt of the army that embarked; and he returned to England, having loſt two thirds of his land-

land-forces; totally diſcredited both as an admiral and a general; and bringing no praiſe with him, but the vulgar one of courage and perſonal bravery.

The duke of Rohan, who had taken arms as ſoon as Buckingnam appeared upon the coaſt, diſcovered the dangerous ſpirit of the ſect, without being able to do any miſchief: the inhabitants of Rochelle, who had at laſt been induced to join the Engliſh, haſtened the vengeance of their maſter, exhauſted their proviſions in ſupplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate ſiege. Such were the fruits of Buckingham's expedition againſt France.

The event of this ill concerted enterpriſe, helped to mature the diſcontents of the Engliſh. Their liberties, they believed, were raviſhed from them; illegal taxes were extorted; and their military honours ſtained. Theſe ills were aſcribed to the obſtinacy of Charles, in adhering to the counſels of Buckingham; yet ſo little foreſight did the king and duke poſſeſs, that it was under theſe unfavourable circumſtances they reſolved to aſſemble a parliament. The abſolute neceſſity of ſupply, it was hoped, would engage the commons to forget all paſt injuries; but when they aſſembled, they appeared to be men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors; and poſſeſſed of ſuch riches, that their property was computed to ſurpaſs three times that of the houſe of peers; they were deputed by boroughs and counties, inflamed all of them by the late violations of liberty; yet they entered on buſineſs with temper and decorum; and conſcious that the king, little prepoſſeſſed in favour of their privileges, wanted but a fair pretence for breaking with them, in ſtating the grievances the nation laboured under, their language was at once decent and nervous. A. D. 1628.

In defence of the late meaſures, the court party pretended not to plead any thing but the neceſſity to which the king had been reduced by the obſtinacy of the two former parliaments. A vote, therefore, was

paſſed without oppoſition againſt arbitrary impri-ſonments, and forced loans. And the ſpirit of li-berty having obtained ſome contentment by this ex-ertion, the reiterated meſſages of the king, who preſſed for ſupply, were attended to with more temper. Five ſubſidies were voted him: with which, though much inferior to his wants, he de-clared himſelf well ſatisfied; and even tears of affec-tion ſtarted in his eye, when he was informed of this conceſſion.

Though voted, the ſupply was not yet paſſed into a law; and the commons reſolved to employ the interval in providing ſome barriers to their rights and liberties ſo lately violated. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, the billeting of ſoldiers, martial law; theſe were the grievances complained of, and againſt theſe an eternal remedy was to be provided. The commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unuſual powers or privileges: they aimed only at ſecuring thoſe which had been tranſ-mitted them from their anceſtors: and their law they reſolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient conſtitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquiſition of new liberties.

While the partizans of the commons grounded their pretenſions on ancient ſtatutes, thoſe of the crown defended themſelves by long cuſtom and uſage; the lords inclined to the ſide of monarchy; they were, however, far from intending to ſacrifice the liberties of the nation to arbitrary will; and, afraid leſt the commons ſhould go too far in their projected petition, they propoſed a plan of one more moderate, which they recommended to the conſider-ation of the other houſe. It conſiſted merely in a general declaration, that the great charter, and the ſix ſtatutes conceived to be explanations of it, ſtand ſtill in force, to all intents and purpoſes; that, in conſequence of the charter and the ſtatutes, and by the

the tenor of the ancient cuſtoms and laws of the realm, every ſubject has a fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental liberty of his perſon; that this property and liberty are as entire at preſent as during any former period of the Engliſh government; that in all common caſes, the common law ought to be the ſtandard of proceedings: "And in "caſe, that, for the ſecurity of his majeſty's per- "ſon, the general ſafety of his people, or the peace- "able government of the kingdom, the king ſhall "find juſt cauſe, for reaſons of ſtate, to impriſon or "reſtrain any man's perſon; he was petitioned gra- "ciouſly to declare, that, within a *convenient* time, "he ſhall and will expreſs the cauſe of the com- "mitment or reſtraint, either general or ſpecial, and "upon a cauſe ſo expreſſed, will leave the priſoner "immediately to be tried according to the com- "mon law of the land."

But the lower houſe were fully convinced, that general declarations ſignified nothing; and that the latter clauſe left their liberties rather in a worſe condition than before. They proceeded, therefore, with great zeal, in framing the model of a petition, which ſhould contain expreſſions more preciſe, and more favourable to public freedom; nor were they to be diverted from their deſign by a meſſage from the king, in which he acknowledged paſt errors, and promiſed that hereafter there ſhould be no juſt cauſe of complaint. Even a letter which Charles ſent to the houſe of lords, in which he declared, "that neither he nor his privy council, would here- "after impriſon any man for not lending money, or "for any other cauſe, which, in his conſcience, he "thought not to concern the public good;" though enforced to the commons by the recommendation of the upper houſe, made no more impreſſion than all the former meſſages.

Among the other evaſions of the king, we may reckon the propoſal of the houſe of peers, to ſub- join, to the intended petition of right, the following clauſe:

clauſe: "We humbly preſent this petition to your "majeſty, not only with a care of preſerving our "own liberties, but with due regard to leave en- "tire that *ſovereign power*, with which your ma- "jeſty is entruſted for the protection, ſafety, and "happineſs of your people." Leſs penetration than was poſſeſſed by the leaders of the houſe of commons, could eaſily diſcover how captious this clauſe was, and how much it was calculated to elude the whole force of the petition.

Theſe obſtacles ſurmounted; the petition of rights paſſed the commons, and was ſent to the upper houſe; it ſoon received the ſanction of the peers, who were probably pleaſed in ſecret, that their ſolicitations had been eluded. Nothing was wanting but the royal aſſent to give it the force of a law. But great was the aſtoniſhment of all men, when, inſtead of the uſual conciſe and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles ſaid, in anſwer to the petition, "The king willeth, "that right be done according to the laws and cuſ- "toms of the realm, and that the ſtatutes be put "into execution; that his ſubjects may have no "cauſe to complain of any wrong or oppreſſion, "contrary to their juſt rights and liberties, to the "preſervation whereof he holds himſelf in con- "ſcience as much obliged as of his own preroga- "tive."

It is ſurpriſing, that Charles could imagine the commons would reſt ſatisfied with ſo vague an anſwer. They returned in very ill-humour. To give vent to their indignation, they fell on Doctor Manwaring, who had preached a ſermon, which was printed by ſpecial command of the king, and was found to contain doctrines ſubverſive of all civil liberty. For theſe doctrines, the commons impeached Manwaring. The ſentence, pronounced upon him by the peers, was, that he ſhould be impriſoned during the pleaſure of the houſe, be fined a thouſand pounds to the king, make ſubmiſſion and acknow-

acknowledgement of his offence, be ſuſpended during three years, be incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical dignity or ſecular office, and that his book be called in and burnt.

It may be worthy of notice, that no ſooner was the ſeſſion ended, than this man, ſo juſtly obnoxious to both houſes, received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of conſiderable value. Some years after, he was raiſed to the ſee of St. Aſaph.

From Manwaring, the houſe of commons proceeded to cenſure the conduct of Buckingham; and in order to divert the tempeſt which was ready to burſt on the head of the duke, the king determined to ſatisfy the people with regard to the petition of right. He came therefore to the houſe of peers, and pronouncing the uſual form of words, *Let it be law as is deſired*, gave full ſanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the houſe reſounded, and the univerſal joy diffuſed over the nation, ſhowed how much this petition had been the object of all men's vows and expectations.

Yet the commons were far from being ſatisfied with this important conceſſion. They continued to carry their ſcrutiny into every part of government. They remonſtrated againſt a commiſſion, which had been granted for levying money by impoſitions or otherwiſe. They were not leſs firm in their repreſentation againſt another commiſſion which had been iſſued for raiſing ten thouſand German horſe, and tranſporting them to England, in order, as it was ſuppoſed, to ſupport the projected impoſitions on exciſes. They next reſumed their cenſure on Buckingham; and they preſented a remonſtrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes. Though they had already granted the king the ſupply of five ſubſidies, they ſtill retained a pledge in their hands, which they thought enſured them ſucceſs in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully

fully, this ſeſſion, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal aſſent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they juſtly deemed of ſuch importance. They then openly aſſerted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, ſo lately granted. The king, in order to prevent the finiſhing and preſenting of this remonſtrance, came ſuddenly to the parliament, and ended this ſeſſion by a prorogation.

Charles, freed from the embarraſſment of this aſſembly, began to look towards foreign wars. An armament had been prepared for the relief of Rochelle, cloſely beſieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by ſea. Buckingham had repaired to Portſmouth to haſten the preparations; when the national diſcontent communicated to a deſperate enthuſiaſt, ſoon broke out in an event which may be conſidered remarkable.

There was one Thomas Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, who had ſerved under the duke in the ſtation of lieutenant. His captain being killed he had applied for the company, and when diſappointed, he threw up his commiſſion. While private reſentment was boiling in his unſociable mind, he met with the remonſtrance of the commons; in which the duke was repreſented as the cauſe of every national grievance. Religious fanaticiſm inflamed his vindictive reflection; and he arrived at Portſmouth, impatient to diſpatch this dangerous foe to religion and his country.

As the duke in a narrow paſſage turned to ſpeak to ſir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was, on a ſudden, ſtruck on the breaſt with a knife. Without uttering other words, than, *the villain has killed me*, he pulled out the knife, and breathed his laſt.

No man had ſeen the blow, nor the perſon who gave

gave it; but near the door there was found a hat, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under theſe lines was a ſhort ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was eaſily concluded that this hat belonged to the aſſaſſin: but the difficulty ſtill remained, *Who that perſon ſhould be?* For the writing diſcovered not the name; and whoever he was, it was natural to believe that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat.

In this hurry, a man without a hat was ſeen walking very compoſedly before the door. One crying out, *here is the fellow who killed the duke*; every body ran to aſk, *which is he?* The man very ſedately anſwered, *I am he.* The more furious immediately ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him: he himſelf, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully expoſed his breaſt to the ſwords of the moſt enraged; being willing to fall a ſudden ſacrifice to their anger, rather than be reſerved for that public juſtice which, he knew, muſt be executed upon him.

He was known to be Felton; and when aſked at whoſe inſtigation he had committed the horrid deed, he replied, that no man living had credit to have diſpoſed him to ſuch an action; but, that believing he ſhould periſh in the attempt, he had explained his motives in his hat.

Though Charles, from the natural gravity and compoſure of his temper, received the intelligence with an unmoved countenance, he was ſtill as much as ever attached to his favourite; he even urged that Felton ſhould be put to the queſtion; but the judges declared, though that practice had formerly been uſual, it was altogether illegal.

After Buckingham's death, a feeble attempt was made by the earl of Lindeſey, to relieve Rochelle; and the Rochellers, diſappointed of the ſuccours they

they had expected from England, after having ſuffered the extremities of famine were reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The victory, however, over the hugonots, was at firſt puſhed by the French king with great moderation. A toleration was ſtill continued to them; the only avowed and open toleration which, at that time, was granted in any European kingdom.

A. D. 1629. Though the commons were highly diſſatisfied with the failure of an enterpriſe, in which, from religious ſympathy they much intereſted themſelves, on aſſembling, they found other cauſes of complaint: for above a century, tonnage and poundage had been conſidered the due of the king even before it was voted by parliament. But the right of the crown to this branch of revenue had been conteſted by the commons in the preceding ſeſſion. When Charles opened this ſeſſion, he had foreſeen, that the ſame controverſy would ariſe; and he therefore took care, very early, among many mild and reconciling expreſſions, to inform the commons, "That he had not taken theſe "duties as appertaining to this hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and ſtill is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people: and "that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to juſtify himſelf only by the "neceſſity of ſo doing, not by any right which he "aſſumed." This conceſſion, which probably aroſe from the king's moderate temper, now freed from the impulſe of Buckingham's violent counſels, might have ſatisfied the commons, had they entertained no other view than that of aſcertaining their own powers and privileges. But they carried their pretenſions much higher. They inſiſted, as a neceſſary preliminary, that the king ſhould once entirely deſiſt from levying theſe duties; after which, they were to take it into conſideration, how far they would reſtore him to the poſſeſſion of a revenue, of which he had clearly diveſted himſelf.

Charles was not inclined to ſubſcribe to a condition, which, had the commons renewed their former deſign of making this revenue only temporary, would have reduced him to perpetual dependance. He did not, however, immediately break with them; but contented himſelf for the preſent, with ſoliciting the houſe by meſſages and ſpeeches. But the commons, inſtead of hearkening to his ſolicitations, proceeded to carry their ſcrutiny into his management of religion. They levelled their formidable cenſures againſt the followers of Arminius, a ſect, who had oppoſed the rigid tenets of predeſtination; and ſome of whom, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the higheſt preferments in the hieraechy.

Amidſt that complication of diſputes in which men were then involved, we may obſerve, that the appellation *puritan* ſtood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were political puritans, who maintained the higheſt principles of civil liberty; the puritans in diſcipline, who were averſe to the ceremonies and epiſcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the ſpeculative ſyſtem of the firſt reformers. In oppoſition to all theſe, ſtood the court party, the hierachy, and the Arminians; only with this diſtinction, that the latter ſect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all thoſe who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as the controverſies on every ſubject grew daily warmer, men united themſelves more intimately with their friends, and ſeparated themſelves wider from their antagoniſts; and the diſtinction gradually became quite uniform and regular. This houſe of commons, which was much governed by the puritanical party, thought they could not better ſerve their cauſe than by branding the Arminian ſect. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other biſhops, who were the chief ſupporters of epiſcopal

epiſcopal government, and the moſt zealous partiſans of the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church, were all ſuppoſed to be tainted with Arminianiſm. The ſame men and their diſciples were the ſtrenuous preachers of paſſive obedience, and of entire ſubmiſſion to princes; and if theſe could be cenſured, and be expelled the church and court, it was concluded, that the hierachy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be leſs rigidly inſiſted on, and the king deprived of his moſt faithful friends, be obliged to abate thoſe high claims of prerogative, on which at preſent he inſiſted.

But Charles, beſides being averſe to the gloomy ſpirit of the puritans, was unhappily ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of Laud; and being totally unprovided with a military force, he conſidered the hierachy as the moſt ſolid baſis of his authority. He perceived the commons grew every day more reſolute in attacking his claims to tonnage and poundage; mention had even been made in the houſe, of attacking ſir Richard Weſton, the treaſurer; and the king began to entertain thoughts of finiſhing the ſeſſion by a diſſolution.

Sir John Elliot framed a remonſtrance againſt levying tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refuſed. He read it himſelf. The queſtion being then called for, the ſpeaker, ſir John Finch, ſaid, *that he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no queſtion.* Upon which he roſe and left the chair. The whole houſe was in an uproar. The ſpeaker was puſhed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine; till a ſhort remonſtrance was framed, and was paſſed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papiſts and Arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Thoſe who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the ſame epithet. And even the merchants who ſhould voluntarily pay theſe duties, were denominated betrayers of Engliſh liberty, and public

public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman uſher of the houſe of lords, who was ſent by the king, could not get admittance till this remonſtrance was finiſhed. By the king's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings. And a few days after the parliament was diſſolved.

While the nation was diſcontented with this violent rupture between the king and parliament, Charles increaſed their indignation by committing to priſon, ſir Miles Hobart, ſir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode; theſe men, who on account of the laſt tumult in the houſe were accuſed of ſedition, were not releaſed till after ſeveral days. Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were ſummoned to their trial in the king's bench, for ſeditious ſpeeches and behaviour in parliament; but refuſing to anſwer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former a thouſand pounds a-piece, the latter five hundred.

Theſe priſoners gloried in their ſufferings; they refuſed to find ſureties for their good behaviour; and Elliot, who happened to die while in cuſtody, was univerſally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

As Charles, after diſſolving his parliament, was deſtitute of all ſupply, peace with foreign powers was abſolutely neceſſary to him. The courts of Paris and Madrid fortunately entertained the ſame pacific diſpoſitions. The treaty was firſt ſigned with France. The ſituation of the king's affairs did not entitle him to demand any conditions for the hugonots, and they were abandoned to the will of their ſovereign. Peace was afterwards concluded with Spain; where no conditions were made in favour of the palatine, except that Spain promiſed in general to uſe their good offices for his reſtoration.

During the reſt of Charles's reign, he ſeems to have little regarded foreign affairs, except ſo far as he was engaged by honour and friendſhip for his ſiſter and the palatine. When the celebrated Guſtavus, king of Sweden, marched into Germany to the protection of the oppreſſed proteſtants of the empire, Charles furniſhed him with ſix thouſand men, under the name of the marquis of Hamilton. But he failed of the purpoſe for which he framed the alliance, by the unexpected ſucceſs of his ally. Guſtavus, in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, intended to reduce it under his own. He refuſed to reſtore the palatine to his principality, except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted; till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swediſh monarch periſhed in the midſt of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies.

A. D. 1630.

After the death of Buckingham, the queen may be conſidered as the chief friend and favourite of Charles. By her ſenſe and ſpirit, as well as by her beauty, ſhe juſtified the fondneſs of her huſband; though being of a quick temper, ſhe ſometimes precipitated him into party meaſures; and her religion, to which ſhe was much attached, augmented the jealouſy which prevailed againſt the catholics, and the court.

Charles had endeavoured to gain the popular leaders by conferring offices on them; but the views of the king were at this time ſo repugnant to thoſe of the puritans, that the leaders, whom he gained, loſt from that moment all intereſt with their party, and were even purſued as traitors with implacable hatred and reſentment. This was the caſe with ſir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created firſt a baron, than a viſcount, and afterwards earl of Strafford; made him preſident of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief miniſter and counſellor. By his eminent talents

ents and abilities, Strafford merited all the confidence which his maſter repoſed in him: his character was ſtately and auſtere; more fitted to procure eſteem than love: his fidelity to the king was unſhaken; but as he now employed all his counſels to ſupport the prerogative, which he had formerly bent all his endeavours to diminiſh, his virtue ſeems not to have been entirely pure, but to have been ſuſceptible of ſtrong impreſſions from private intereſt and ambition. Sir Dudley Digges was about the ſame time created maſter of the rolls: Noy, attorney-general: Littleton, ſolicitor-general. All theſe had likewiſe been parliamentary leaders; and were men eminent in their profeſſion.

In all eccleſiaſtical affairs, Laud, biſhop of London, had great influence over the king. He was a man inacceſſible to pleaſure, deeply verſed in polemical learning, and perſonally diſintereſted. But he laboured inceſſantly to exalt the prieſtly character, and was relentleſs in the cauſe of religion; and a ſtrenuous advocate for the external ceremonies of religion. This humour, at a time when the nation ran into an oppoſite extreme, rendered him ſuſpected of inclining to the church of Rome; and it muſt be confeſſed, though Laud deſerved not the appellation of papiſt, the genius of his religion was, though in a leſs degree, the ſame with that of the Romiſh: the ſame profound reſpect was exacted to the ſacerdotal character, the ſame ſubmiſſion required to the creeds and decrees of ſynods and councils, the ſame pomp and ceremony was affected in worſhip, and the ſame ſuperſtitious regard to days, poſtures, meats, and veſtments; and ſome ceremonies with which he was accuſed of conſecrating St. Catharine's church, were the objects of general ſcandal and offence.

The kneeling at the altar, and the uſing of copes, a ſpecies of embroidered veſtment in adminiſtering the ſacrament, were again introduced by Laud; and as they were known to be popiſh practices highly

inflamed the puritans. But the biſhop, poſſeſſed of preſent power, perſiſted in his purpoſe; and thoſe of the clergy who neglected to obſerve the new ceremonies he proſcribed, and ſuſpended by his high commiſſion court. Orders, alſo, on pretence of pacifying diſputes, were iſſued from the council, forbidding, on both ſides, all preaching and printing with regard to the controverted points of predeſtination and free will. But it was complained of, and probably with reaſon, that the impartiality was altogether confined to the orders, and that the execution of them was only meant againſt the calviniſts.

In return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers, took care to magnify on every occaſion the regal authority, and to treat with diſdain all pretenſions to a free conſtitution. The neceſſities of Charles ſoon induced him to put in practice the principles which exalted his prerogative. He gave way to the ſeverity of the ſtar-chamber, and high-commiſſion; and leſt the hope of relief from parliament might encourage oppoſition, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas, for ſeveral ill ends, the calling "again of a parliament is divulged; though his "majeſty has ſhown, by frequent meetings with his "people, his love to the uſe of parliaments: yet "the late abuſe having, for the preſent, driven him "unwillingly out of that courſe; he will account it "preſumption for any one to preſcribe to him any "time for the calling of that aſſembly." This was generally conſtrued as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be ſummoned. And every meaſure of the king's confirmed a ſuſpicion, ſo diſagreeable to the generality of the people.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by by the royal authority alone; the former additional impoſitions were ſtill exacted; even new impoſitions were laid on ſeveral kinds of merchandize.

The

The cuſtom-houſe officers received orders from the council to enter into any houſe, warehouſe, or cellar; to ſearch any trunk or cheſt; and to break any bulk whatever; in default of the payment of cuſtoms.

In order to exerciſe the militia, and to keep them in good order, each county, by an edict of the council, was aſſeſſed in a certain ſum, for maintaining a muſter-maſter, appointed for that ſervice.

Compoſitions were openly made with recuſants, and the popiſh religion became a regular part of the revenue. This was all the perſecution which it underwent during the reign of Charles.

A commiſſion was granted for compounding with ſuch as were poſſeſſed of crown-lands upon defective titles; and, on this pretence, ſome money was exacted from the people.

In order to gratify the clergy with a magnificent fabric, ſubſcriptions were ſet on foot for repairing and rebuilding St. Paul's; and the king by his countenance and example encouraged this laudable undertaking. It muſt be remarked, that the puritans were extremely averſe to the raiſing this ornament to the capital. It favoured, as they pretended, of popiſh ſuperſtition. A. D. 1631.

A ſtamp duty was impoſed on cards; a tax however juſt in itſelf, yet of dangerous conſequence when conſidered as arbitrary and illegal. Monopolies alſo were revived; the court of ſtar-chamber, extended its authority; and it was matter of complaint that it encroached upon the juriſdiction of the other courts; impoſing heavy fines, and inflicting puniſhments beyond the uſual courſe of juſtice. A. D. 1632. 1633.

Prynne, a barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn, had written an enormous quarto, called *Hiſtro-Maſtyx*, in which he not only cenſured ſtage plays, muſic, and dancing, but hunting, public veſtivals, and Chriſtmas-keeping; as the king and queen frequented the former amuſements, he was indicted in the ſtar-chamber

as a libeller. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to ſtand on the pillory; to loſe both his ears; to pay 5000 pounds to the king; and to be impriſoned during life. Prynne was a great hero among the puritans; and it was chiefly with a view of mortifying that ſect, that he was condemned to ſo ignominious a puniſhment.

This year Charles made a journey to Scotland; and immediately on his return, the archbiſhopric of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Abbot, he raiſed Laud to that ſee, who at the ſame time obtained for his friend Juxon, the biſhopric of London.

SHIP-MONEY was now introduced; the amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding 200,000 pounds, it was levied upon the people with equality; and entirely expended on the navy; yet as it was arbitrary, and by the ſame right any other tax might be impoſed, it was productive of great diſcontent.

A. D. 1634.

The arbitrary fines that were impoſed by the ſtar-chamber, were the ſource of more juſt and more general diſquiet. Morley was fined 10,000 pounds for challenging and ſtriking in the court of Whitehall, ſir George Theobald, one of the king's ſervants. Sir Richard Grenville, who thought himſelf ill-uſed in a law ſuit, by the earl of Suffolk, was accuſed before the ſtar-chamber of having ſaid of that nobleman, that he was a baſe lord; and was condemned to pay 8000 pounds, one half to the earl, the other to the king.

Lord Clarendon gives a pleaſant inſtance of the high reſpect paid at this time to the nobility. A waterman belonging to a man of quality, having a ſquabble with a citizen about his fare, ſhowed his badge, the creſt of his maſter, which happened to be a ſwan; and thence inſiſted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied careleſsly, that he did not trouble his head about that gooſe. For his offence he was ſummoned before the marſhal's

ſhal's court; was fined, as having opprobiouſly defamed the nobleman's creſt, by calling the ſwan a gooſe; and was in effect reduced to beggary.

There remains a proclamation of this year, prohibiting hackney-coaches from ſtanding in the ſtreet. We are told, that there were not above twenty coaches of that kind in London. There are, at preſent, near eight hundred. A. D. 1635. 1637.

The effects of ſhip-money began now to appear. A formidable fleet of ſixty ſail, the greateſt that England had ever known, was equipped under the earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring-buſſes of the Dutch, which fiſhed in what were called the Britiſh ſeas. The Dutch were content to pay 30,000 pounds for a licenſe during this year. They openly denied, however, the claim of dominion in the ſeas beyond the friths, bays, and ſhores, and it may be queſtioned, whether the laws of nations warrant any farther pretenſions.

This year the king ſent a ſquadron againſt Sallee; and, with the aſſiſtance of the emperor of Morocco, deſtroyed that receptacle of pirates, by whom the Engliſh commerce, and even the Engliſh coaſts, had long been infeſted.

Burton, a divine, and Baſtwick, a phyſician, were tried in the ſtar-chamber for ſeditious and ſchiſmatical libels, and were condemned to the ſame puniſhment that had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne himſelf was tried for a new offence; and, together with another fine of 5000 pounds, was condemned to loſe what remained of his ears. The ſeverity of the ſtar-chamber was generally aſcribed to Laud's paſſionate diſpoſition; who about the ſame time, by a decree which he procured from the court of exchequer, ſtopped the progreſs of certain zealots, who had erected themſelves into a ſociety for buying in of impropriations, and transferring them to the church; but it was ſoon obſerved the uſe they made of their funds, was to eſtabliſh puritanical lectures in the moſt conſiderable places of worſhip.

The puritans reſtrained in England, ſhipped themſelves off to America; but their enemies, dreading perhaps the conſequences of ſo diſaffected a colony, prevailed on the king to iſſue a proclamation to debar them of their intended retreat. Eight ſhips, lying in the Thames, and ready to ſail, were detained by order of council; and in theſe were embarked ſir Arthur Haſelrig, John Hambden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, who had reſolved for ever to abandon their native country, and fly to the other extremity of the globe; where they might enjoy lectures and diſcourſes of any length or form which pleaſed them. The king had afterwards full leiſure to repent this exerciſe of his authority.

Complaints about this time were made, that the petition of right was, in ſome inſtances, violated, and that, upon a commitment by the king and council, bail or releaſement had been refuſed to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers.

Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, a popular prelate, and who had been lord keeper, was, on frivolous pretences, fined 10,000 pounds, and committed to the Tower; though Laud owed his firſt promotion to Williams, this ſevere ſentence was aſcribed to his implacable vengeance. The latter having quarrelled with Buckingham and the archbiſhop, had joined the country party; and found himſelf continually expoſed to the reſentment of the court. Not long after a ſecond fine of 8000 pounds was levied on him on account of ſome letters directed to him, and which were pretended to contain ſatirical alluſions to Laud.

Lilburne was accuſed before the ſtar-chamber, of publiſhing ſeditious pamphlets; as he refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, for this contempt he was condemned to be whipped, pillored, and impriſoned. The firmneſs with which he bore his puniſhment gave freſh provocation to the ſtar-chamber; he was impriſoned and loaded with irons; but it was found difficult

difficult to break the ſpirits of men, who placed both their honour and conſcience in ſuffering.

This year, John Hambden acquired by his ſpirit and courage univerſal popularity throughout the nation, by the ſtand he made in the defence and liberties of his country. The judges had ſanctioned the levying of ſhip-money, by declaring, that the king in a cauſe of neceſſity might impoſe that tax, and that he was ſole judge of the neceſſity. Notwithſtanding the opinion of the judges, and the great power of the crown, Hambden, who had been rated at twenty ſhillings for an eſtate which he poſſeſſed in Buckinghamſhire, was reſolved rather than tamely ſubmit to ſo illegal an impoſition, to ſtand a legal proſecution, and expoſe himſelf to all the indignation of the court. This caſe was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this celebrated trial. The event was eaſily foreſeen: but the principles, and reaſonings, and behaviour of the parties engaged in the trial, were much canvaſſed and enquired into; and nothing could equal the favour paid to the one ſide, except the hatred which attended the other.

It was urged by Hambden's counſel, that nothing leſs than a danger imminent and hazardous, could juſtify the plea of neceſſity. Where ſuch a peril exiſted, it would be palpable to every eye; and men would readily ſubmit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for their preſervation. But in the preſent inſtance, England was in profound peace with all her neighbours; the writs themſelves only pretend, that the ſea were infeſted with pirates; and ſo far from the neceſſity appearing urgent, forty days was allowed for equipping the ſhips.

In vain are precedents of ancient writs produced: theſe writs, when examined, are only found to require the ſea-ports, ſometimes at their own charge, ſome-

ſometimes at the charge of the counties, to ſend their ſhips for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to iſſue ſuch writs, is aboliſhed, and its exerciſe almoſt entirely diſcontinued, from the time of Edward III. and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exerciſed, was, to preſs ſhips into the public ſervice, to be paid for by the public. The plea of neceſſity would warrant any other tax as well as that of ſhip-money. And if ſuch practices prevail, what authority is left to the great charter, to the ſtatutes, and to that very petition of right, which in the preſent reign had been ſo ſolemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legiſlature.

Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, the prejudiced judges, four excepted, gave ſentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his ſafety and his quiet: the people were rouſed from their lethargy, and became ſenſible of the danger to which their liberties were expoſed. Theſe national queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that liberty was totally ſubverted, and an unuſual and arbitrary authority exerciſed over the kingdom. Slaviſh principles, they ſaid, concur with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical tyranny gives aid to civil uſurpation; iniquitous taxes are ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and all the privileges of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lie proſtrate at the feet of the monarch.

But though the Engliſh might juſtly complain of the conſtitution being violated, the grievances they laboured under, were by no means burdenſome to the people's properties; and it is probable things might have continued long on the ſame footing in England, had it not been for the neighbourhood of Scotland,

Scotland, a country more turbulent and leſs diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion and obedience; the Scottiſh nobility were poſſeſſed of the chief power and influence over the people. Their hereditary juriſdiction and feudal tenures increaſed their authority; and they were diſguſted at the piety of Charles, which inclining him to the eccleſiaſtical order, had raiſed many of the prelates to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate; yet Charles had been able to acquire only the affection of the ſuperior rank among the clergy. The miniſters in general, equalled, if not exceeded the nobility in their prejudices againſt the court, againſt the prelates, and againſt epiſcopal authority. The people under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the diſcontents which prevailed among theſe two orders. Where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they laid hold of imaginary ones; and the apprehenſion of popery was propagated with much induſtry, and received with much credulity.

Amidſt theſe terrors of religious innovation, the civil and eccleſiaſtical liberties of the nation were imagined, and with ſome reaſon, not to be altogether free from invaſion.

The eſtabliſhment of the high-commiſſion by James, ſeemed a conſiderable encroachment of the crown; and erected the moſt dangerous of all courts. All the ſteps towards the ſettlement of epiſcopacy had been taken with the conſent of parliament; but theſe laws had leſs authority with the nation, as they were known to have paſſed contrary to the ſentimens even of thoſe who voted for them. There alſo prevailed among the nation, an idea that the eccleſiaſtical authority was independent of the civil; and though James had obtained the vote of aſſemblies for receiving epiſcopacy and his new rites; it muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch irregularities had prevailed in conſtituting theſe eccleſiaſtical courts, and ſuch violence in conducting them, that there were ſome grounds for denying the authority of all their

acts. Charles, ſenſible that an extorted conſent, attended with ſuch invidious circumſtances, would rather be prejudicial to his meaſures, had wholly laid aſide the uſe of aſſemblies, and was reſolved, in conjunction with the biſhops, to govern the church by an authority, to which he thought himſelf fully entitled, and which he believed inherent in the crown.

The canons for eſtabliſhing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction were promulgated in 1635; and were received by the nation, though without much apparent oppoſition, yet with great inward apprehenſion and diſcontent. Men felt diſpleaſure at ſeeing the royal authority highly exalted by them, and repreſented as abſolute and uncontrollable.

The liturgy which the king impoſed on Scotland, was copied with ſome few alterations from that of England. But the Scots thought their ſouthern neighbours, though ſeparated from Rome, ſtill retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution; and their liturgy was repreſented as a ſpecies of maſs, though with ſome leſs ſhew and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained againſt it, even conſidered in itſelf; much more when regarded as a preparative, which was ſoon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery.

On reading of the new liturgy in Edinburgh, no ſooner had the dean, arrayed in his ſurplice, opened the book, than a multitude of the meaneſt ſort, moſt of them women, clapping their hands, curſing, and crying out, *a pope! a pope! antichriſt! ſtone him!* raiſed ſuch a tumult. that it was impoſſible to proceed with the ſervice. The biſhop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appeaſe the populace, had a ſtool thrown at him: the council was inſulted: and it was with difficulty that the magiſtrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and to ſhut the doors againſt them. The tumult, however, ſtill continued without: ſtones were thrown at the doors and windows: and when the ſervice was ended, the biſhop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly

eſcaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy-ſeal, becauſe he carried the biſhop in his coach, was ſo pelted with ſtones, and hooted at with execrations, and preſſed upon by the eager populace, that, if his ſervants, with drawn ſwords, had not kept them off, the biſhop's life had been expoſed to the utmoſt danger.

When it was found the king, notwithſtanding this inſtance of diſcontent, intended to perſevere in the new mode of worſhip, all men throughout the kingdom began to unite themſelves in oppoſition to it. The moſt dangerous ſymptoms of inſurrection and diſorder, appeared on all hands. The primate, a man of wiſdom and prudence, who had been averſe to the liturgy, repreſented to the king the ſtate of the nation. The earl of Traquaire, the treaſurer, ſet out for London in order to lay the matter more fully before him. But Charles was inflexible. Yet to ſo violent a combination A. D. 1638. of a whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppoſe but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all paſt offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to ſubmit peaceably to the uſe of the liturgy. This proclamation was inſtantly encountered with a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindeſey: and this was the firſt time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of oppoſition. But this proved a criſis. The inſurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and ſlow progreſs, now blazed up at once. No diſorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four *tables*, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One conſiſted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, a fourth of burgeſſes. The table of gentry was divided into many ſubordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were iſſued by them, and every where

where obeyed, with the utmoſt regularity. And among the firſt acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT.

The covenant conſiſted firſt of a renunciation of popery, ſigned by James in his youth; and was followed by a bond of union by which the ſubſcribers obliged themſelves to reſiſt religious innovations, and to defend each other againſt all oppoſition whatſoever; the people, without diſtinction of rank or condition flocked to ſign it; and ſo general was the contagion, that it even ſeized the king's miniſters.

Charles began to apprehend the conſequences; he ſent the marquis of Hamilton with an offer to the covenanters, if they would renounce the covenant, to ſuſpend the liturgy and canons, till they could be received in a legal way. The popular leaders anſwered they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm than the covenant; and the clergy invited the commiſſioner himſelf to ſubſcribe it.

A ſecond offer to aboliſh the canons, the liturgy, the high-commiſſion court, and even to reſtrain the power of the biſhops, was equally ineffectual. The popular leaders, however, readily acceded to his propoſal of ſummoning a general aſſembly. It met at Glaſgow; and beſides a great concourſe of people, all the nobility and gentry were preſent. It ſoon appeared a firm determination had been entered into, of utterly aboliſhing epiſcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the preſbytery of Edinburgh, and ſolemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accuſation againſt the biſhops, as guilty, all of them, of hereſy, ſimony, bribery, perjury, cheating, inceſt, adultery, fornication, common ſwearing, drunkenneſs, gaming, breach of the ſabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accuſers. The biſhops ſent a proteſt, declining the authority of the aſſembly; the commiſſioner too proteſted againſt that court, as illegally conſtituted and elected; and, in his majeſty's name, diſſolved it. This meaſure was foreſeen,

ſeen, and little regarded. The court ſtill continued to ſit, and to finiſh their buſineſs. All the acts of aſſembly ſince the acceſſion of James to the crown of England were, upon pretty reaſonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament which affected eccleſiaſtical affairs were ſuppoſed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus epiſcopacy, the high commiſſion, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were aboliſhed and declared unlawful: and the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long courſe of years, had been rearing with ſo much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewiſe was ordered to be ſigned by every one, under pain of excommunication.

As the covenanters were ſenſible it would be neceſſary to maintain their religious tenets by military force, they caſt their eyes on all ſides; and Richelieu, who was irritated by the refuſal of Charles to preſerve a neutrality, while the Dutch and French, ſhould attack the maritime towns of Flanders, now ſought revenge by fomenting the commotions in Scotland, and ſecretly ſupplying the covenanters with money and arms. A.D. 1639.

But the chief reſource of the Scottiſh malcontents, was in their own vigour and abilities; the earl of Argyle, a man equally ſupple and inflexible, cautious and determined, became the chief leader of the party. Many Scotch officers, who had acquired reputation in the German wars, were invited over; forces were regularly inliſted and diſciplined, and the command was entruſted to Leſley, a ſoldier of experience and abilities.

Charles's averſion to ſanguinary meaſures, was ſurmounted by his love for hierachy. He obtained from the catholics a conſiderable ſupply of money. His fleet was formidable; and having put 5000 land-forces on board, he entruſted it to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail to the Frith of Forth,

Forth, and to cauſe a diverſion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was levied of near 20,000 foot, and above 3000 horſe, and was put under the command of the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but celebrated neither for military nor political abilities. The earl of Eſſex, a man of ſtrict honour, and extremely popular, eſpecially among the ſoldiery, was appointed lieutenant-general: the earl of Holland was general of the horſe. The king himſelf joined the army, and he ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a ſplendid court, rather than of a military armament; and in this ſituation, carrying more ſhow than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwic.

The Scottiſh army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The firſt was engaged in a national cauſe; the latter was retained entirely by pay, and looked on the quarrel with the indifference that belongs to mercenaries. The conſequence of a defeat while Scotland was enraged, and England diſcontented, were ſo dreadful, that no motive could perſuade the king to hazard it. In this perplexity, Charles concluded a ſudden pacification in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould withdraw his fleet and army; that within eight and forty hours the Scots ſhould diſmiſs their forces; that the king's forts ſhould be reſtored to him; his authority be acknowledged; and a general aſſembly and a parliament be immediately ſummoned, in order to compoſe all differences.

The cauſe which induced the king to admit ſuch ſtrange articles of peace, was the ſimilarity of diſpoſition between the Engliſh and Scottiſh malcontents. The former, inſtead of being willing to ſecond the king in ſubduing the free ſpirits of the Scots, rather pitied that unhappy people, who had been puſhed to thoſe extremities. They thought the aſſiſtance of ſuch neighbours might encourage England to recover her violated liberties. The knowledge

ledge of theſe ſentiments had influenced Charles to ſign a treaty; but though he agreed not only to abrogate the canons, the liturgy, and the high-commiſſion; but alſo to aboliſh the order itſelf of biſhops, he could not be prevailed on to advance one ſtep farther; and the aſſembly, when it met, was by no means ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions. They voted epiſcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland; Charles, was willing to allow it contrary to the conſtitutions of that church. They ſtigmatiſed the liturgy and canons as popiſh: he agreed ſimply to aboliſh them. They denominated the high commiſſion, tyranny: he was content to ſet it aſide. The parliament, which ſat after the aſſembly, advanced pretenſions which tended to diminiſh the civil power of the monarch; and, what probably affected Charles ſtill more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of aſſembly, when, by the king's inſtructions, Traquair, the commiſſioner, prorogued them. And on account of theſe claims, which might have been foreſeen, was the war renewed, with great advantages on the ſide of the covenanters, and diſadvantages on that of the king.

The covenanters when they apparently diſmiſſed their troops, had ordered the officers to be ready on the firſt ſummons, and the ſoldiers were warned not to think the nation ſecure from an Engliſh invaſion. The religious zeal which animated all men, made them, on the ſound of the ſpiritual trumpet, fly to their ſtandards; but the king drew together his army with difficulty, and ſoon diſcovered his incapacity to ſupport them. A parliament, therefore, muſt now, after above eleven years intermiſſion, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied diſguſts given to the puritanical party, be ſummoned to aſſemble, amidſt the moſt preſſing neceſſities of the crown. A. D. 1640.

By the mouth of the lord keeper, he declared his wants; and repreſented that it was neceſſary to grant

ſupplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments: that the ſeaſon was far advanced, the time precious, and none of it muſt be loſt in deliberation: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhauſted by unneceſſary pomp, or ſumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever ſupplies had been levied on his ſubjects, had been employed for their advantage and preſervation, and like vapours riſing out of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in ſweet and refreſhing ſhowers on the ſame fields, from which they had at firſt been exhaled: that though he deſired ſuch immediate aſſiſtance as might prevent for the time a total diſorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them from their right to enquire into the ſtate of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the redreſs of their grievances: that as much as was poſſible of this ſeaſon ſhould afterwards be allowed them for that purpoſe.

However plauſible theſe topics, they made ſmall impreſſion on the houſe of commons. By ſome illegal, and ſeveral ſuſpicious meaſures of the crown, and by the courageous oppoſition which particular perſons, amidſt dangers and hardſhips, had made to them; the minds of men, throughout the nation, had taken ſuch a turn as to aſcribe every honour to the refractory oppoſers of the king and the miniſters. Theſe were the only patriots, the only lovers of their country, the only heroes, and, perhaps too, the only true Chriſtians. A reaſonable compliance with the court was ſlaviſh dependence; a regard to the king, ſervile flattery; a confidence in his promiſes, ſhameful proſtitution. This general caſt of thought, which has, more or leſs, prevailed in England, during near a century and a half, and which has been the cauſe of much good and much ill in public affairs, never predominated more than during the reign of Charles. The preſent houſe of commons, being entirely compoſed of country-gentlemen,

tlemen, who came into parliament with all their native prejudices about them, and whom the crown had no means of influencing, could not fail to contain a majority of theſe ſtubborn patriots.

The leaders of the popular party, perceived from the neceſſities of the crown, that the time was now come, when regal authority muſt fall into a total ſubordination under popular aſſemblies. Inſtead of taking notice of the king's applications for ſupply, they entered immediately upon grievances. They enquired into the impriſonment of ſir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine. They canvaſſed the affair of ſhip-money. In vain did the peers repreſent, that on this occaſion, the ſupply ought both in reaſon and decency to precede the redreſs of grievances. The commons had always claimed, as their peculiar province, the granting of ſupplies; and, though the peers had here gone no farther than offering advice, the lower houſe immediately thought proper to vote ſo unprecedented an interpoſition to be a breach of privilege.

Charles, finding that ſhip-money gave great alarm and diſguſt; beſides informing them, that he never intended to make a conſtant revenue of it, that all the money levied had been regularly, with other great ſums, expended on equipping the navy; he now went ſo far as to offer them a total abolition of that obnoxious claim, by any law which the commons ſhould think proper to preſent to him. In return, he only aſked for his neceſſities, a ſupply of twelve ſubſidies, about ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and that payable in three years; but, at the ſame time, he let them know, that, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs, a delay would be equivalent to a denial.

To the partizans of the court, who repreſented, that the happieſt occaſion now offered for reconciling the ſovereign to the uſe of parliaments, the popular leaders replied, that it was the ancient practice to give grievances the precedency of ſupply; that

ſcarcely any argument more unfavourable could be pleaded for ſupply, than an offer to aboliſh ſhip-money; a taxation the moſt illegal, and the moſt dangerous, that had ever, in any reign, been impoſed upon the nation: and that, by bargaining for the remiſſion of that duty, the commons would, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; at leaſt, give encouragement for advancing new pretenſions of a like nature, in hopes of reſigning them on like advantageous conditions.

Theſe reaſons, joined to ſo many occaſions of ill-humour, ſeemed to ſway with the greater number: but, to make the matter worſe, ſir Harry Vane, the ſecretary, told the commons, without any authority from the king, that nothing leſs than twelve ſubſidies would be accepted as a compenſation for the abolition of ſhip-money. This aſſertion, proceeding from the indiſcretion, if we are not rather to call it the treachery, of Vane, diſpleaſed the houſe, by ſhowing a ſtiffneſs and rigidity in the king, which, in a claim ſo ill grounded, was deemed inexcuſable. We are informed likewiſe, that ſome men, who were thought to underſtand the ſtate of the nation, affirmed in the houſe, that the amount of twelve ſubſidies was a greater ſum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of thoſe times, with regard to taxes!

The king now ſaw that the ſame counſels were prevalent in parliament which had ever bred ſuch oppoſition and diſturbance. If the houſe met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly paſs to blaſt his revenue of ſhip-money. In this perplexity, he haſtily formed and executed the reſolution of diſſolving this parliament: a meaſure, however, of which he ſoon after repented, and which the ſubſequent events, more than any convincing reaſon, inclined every one to condemn.

Though the parliament was diſſolved, the convocation was ſtill allowed to ſit; a practice of which, ſince the reformation, there were but few inſtances,

inſtances, and which was for that reaſon ſuppoſed by many to be irregular. Beſides granting to the king a ſupply from the ſpirituality, and framing many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with thoſe which had taken place in Scotland, impoſed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the univerſities, by which every one ſwore to maintain the eſtabliſhed government of the church by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, chapters, &c. Theſe ſteps, in the preſent diſcontented humour of the nation, were commonly deemed illegal; becauſe not ratified by conſent of parliament, in whom all authority was now ſuppoſed to be centered. And nothing, beſides, could afford more ſubject of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an *et cætera* in the midſt of it.

The people who abhorred the convocation could ſcarce be reſtrained from inſulting them. An attack was made during the night upon Laud in his palace of Lambeth, by above five hundred perſons; and numerous inſtances of diſcontents were, to accurate obſervers, preſages of an approaching revolution.

The diſcontents were heightened by the expedients the king was obliged to have recourſe to in order to ſupply his urgent neceſſities. He borrowed money from his miniſters and courtiers. A loan of 40,000 pounds was extorted from the Spaniſh merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, expoſed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct-money for the ſoldiery was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but ſuppoſed to be aboliſhed by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the Eaſt India company upon truſt, and ſold, at a great diſcount, for ready money.

The preſent expedients, however, enabled the king, though with great difficulty, to march his army, conſiſting of 19,000 foot and 2000 horſe. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general: the earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland

lieutenant-general: lord Conway, general of the horſe. A ſmall fleet was thought ſufficient to ſerve the purpoſes of this expedition.

The Scottiſh army, though ſomewhat ſuperior, were ſooner ready than the king's; amidſt their hoſtile attempts, they preſerved the moſt ſubmiſſive language; and entered England, they ſaid, with no other view, than to obtain acceſs to the king's preſence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, they were oppoſed by a detachment of 4,500 men under Conway, who ſeemed reſolute to diſpute with them the paſſage of the river. The Scots firſt entreated them, with great civility, not to ſtop them in their march to their gracious ſovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed ſeveral, and chaſed the reſt from their ground. Such a panic ſeized the whole Engliſh army, that the forces at Newcaſtle fled immediately to Durham; and not yet thinking themſelves ſafe, they deſerted that town, and retreated into Yorkſhire.

The Scots took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle; and in order to prevent their advancing upon him, the king agreed to a treaty, and named ſixteen Engliſh noblemen, who met with eleven Scottiſh commiſſioners at Rippon. The earls of Hertford, Bedford, Saliſbury, Warwic, Eſſex, Holland, Briſtol, and Berkſhire, the lords Kimbolton, Wharton, Dunſmore, Paget, Broke, Saville, Paulet, and Howard of Eſcric, were choſen by the king; all of them popular men, and conſequently ſuppoſed nowiſe averſe to the Scottiſh invaſion, or unacceptable to that nation.

An addreſs had arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; but the king contented himſelf with ſummoning a great council of the peers at York. Much about this time, Northumberland's illneſs devolved the command of the army on Strafford, a nobleman who poſſeſſed more vigour of mind than the king, or any of his council. He adviſed

viſed Charles, rather to put all to the hazard than to ſubmit to ſuch unworthy terms as were likely to be impoſed upon him. His opinion was to attack the Scots, and to ſhow how eaſy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an aſſault to be made on ſome of their quarters, and he gained an advantage over them. No ceſſation of arms had as yet been agreed to during the treaty at Rippon; yet great clamour prevailed, on account of this act of hoſtility. And when it was known that the officer who conducted the attack was a papiſt, a violent outcry was raiſed againſt the king, for employing that hated ſect in the murder of his proteſtant ſubjects.

Charles, in deſpair of being able to ſtem the torrent, at laſt determined to yield to it: and as he foreſaw that the great council of the peers would adviſe him to call a parliament, he told them in his firſt ſpeech, that he had already taken this reſolution. He informed them likewiſe, that the queen, in a letter which ſhe had written to him, had very earneſtly recommended that meaſure. This good prince, who was extremely attached to his conſort, and who paſſionately wiſhed to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amidſt all his diſtreſs, the intereſts of domeſtic tenderneſs.

As many difficulties occurred in the negociation with the Scots, it was propoſed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: a propoſal willingly embraced by that nation, who were now ſure of treating with advantage, in a place were the king, they foreſaw, would be in a manner a priſoner, in the midſt of his implacable enemies, and their determined friends.

CHAP. XVIII.

CHARLES I.

Meeting of the long Parliament.—Strafford and Laud impeached.—The Biſhops attacked.—Tonnage and Poundage.—Triennial Bill.—Strafford's Trial and Execution.—High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber aboliſhed.—King's Journey to Scotland.—Settlement of Scotland.—Inſurrection in Ireland.—Meeting of the Engliſh Parliament.—Remonſtrance.—Impeachment of the Biſhops.—Accuſation of the five Members.—King retires to York.—Preparations for Civil War.

A. D. 1640. THE cauſes of diſguſt, which, for above thirty years had been daily multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity. The king had aſſumed powers, which rendered it impoſſible even for his moſt zealous partiſans to juſtify his conduct. The nobility had been ſeized with the general diſcontent, and unwarily threw themſelves into the ſcale of the oppoſite party. All the elections ran in favour of thoſe, who by their high pretenſions to piety and patriotiſm, had encouraged the national prejudices. It is a uſual compliment to regard the king's inclination in the choice of a ſpeaker; and Charles had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important truſt: but ſo little intereſt did the crown at that time poſſeſs in the nation, that Gardiner was diſappointed of his election, not only in London, but in every other place where it was attempted: and the king was obliged to make the choice of ſpeaker fall on Lenthal, a lawyer of ſome character, but not ſufficiently qualified for ſo high and difficult an office.

The commons immediately entered upon buſineſs; and

and ſtruck at once a blow which may in a manner be regarded as deciſive. The earl of Strafford, who was conſidered as chief miniſter, by a concurrence of incidents, laboured under the ſevere hatred of all the three nations which compoſed the Britiſh monarchy. The Scots could never pardon the vigour with which he had acted againſt them while general of the army. The Iriſh, who were ſtill averſe to the Engliſh laws and religion, were provoked by the vigilence and activity he had diſplayed during eight years that he had been their lieutenant. The Engliſh deteſted him as the man whom the king moſt truſted. Though his extraction was honourable, his paternal fortune conſiderable; yet envy attended his ſudden elevation. His manners, though to his friends full of affection, were at bottom haughty, rigid, and ſevere, and his former aſſociates in popular counſels, finding that he owed his advancement to the deſertion of their cauſe, repreſented him as the great apoſtate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to ſacrifice as a victim to public juſtice.

It was only in obedience to Charles's orders, and his promiſes of protection, that Strafford, who was ſenſible of the public hatred, ventured to attend in parliament; and no ſooner was his arrival known than a concerted attack was made upon him in the houſe of commons. It was led by Pym, who, after expatiating on a long liſt of popular grievances, we muſt inquire, added he, from what fountain theſe waters of bitterneſs flow; and though doubtleſs many evil counſellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet is there one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterpriſe, and capacity, is entitled to the firſt place among theſe betrayers of their country. He is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been entruſted with authority, has raiſed ample monuments

of

of tyranny, and will appear from a ſurvey of his actions to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary council. Many others entered into the ſame topics; it was moved that Strafford ſhould be impeached. Lord Falkland alone, though the known enemy of Strafford, intreated the houſe not to act with precipitation; but Pym replied, that delay would blaſt all their hopes. Without further debate, the impeachment was voted: Pym was choſen to carry it up to the lords: moſt of the houſe accompanied him on ſo agreeable an errand: and Strafford, who had juſt entered the houſe of peers, and who little expected ſo ſpeedy a proſecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into cuſtody, with ſeveral ſymptoms of violent prejudice in his judges, as well as in his proſecutors.

Laud could not eſcape the ſevere ſcrutiny of the commons; an impeachment of high treaſon was preferred againſt him; by order of the peers he was ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody. The ſame charge was alſo exhibited againſt lord keeper Finch, and ſecretary Windebank; but theſe miniſters, conſcious how obnoxious they were, fled, the firſt to Holland, the laſt to France.

Thus, in a few weeks, this houſe of commons, not oppoſed, or rather ſeconded by the peers, had produced ſuch a revolution in the government, that the two moſt powerful and moſt favoured miniſters of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life: two other miniſters had, by flight alone, ſaved themſelves from a like fate: all the king's ſervants ſaw that no protection could be given them by their maſter: a new juriſdiction was erected in the nation; and before that tribunal all thoſe trembled, who had before exulted moſt in their credit and authority.

What rendered the power of the commons more formidable, was the prudence with which it was conducted. The authority which, during the late military

military operations, had been exerciſed by the lieutenants of counties, though neceſſary for the defence of the nation, was now voted illegal, and the perſons who had aſſumed them, declared *delinquents*; a term newly come in vogue, and expreſſing a ſpecies of guilt not exactly aſcertained.

The ſheriffs, who had levied ſhip-money, were compriſed in this deſcription. All the farmers and officers of the cuſtoms, who had been employed during ſo many years in levying tonnage and poundage, and the new impoſitions, were likewiſe declared criminals, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying a fine of 150,000 pounds.

The judges who had given their vote againſt Hambden, in the trial of ſhip-money, were accuſed before the peers, and obliged to find ſurety for their appearance. Berkley, a judge of the king's bench, was ſeized by order of the houſe, even when ſitting in his tribunal; and all men ſaw with aſtoniſhment the irreſiſtible authority of their juriſdiction.

The whole ſovereign power thus transferred to the commons; this was the time when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the reſtraint of authority, and nouriſhed by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themſelves, and be diſtinguiſhed by the public. Then was celebrated the ſagacity of Pym, more fitted for uſe than ornament; matured, not chilled by his advanced age and long experience: then was diſplayed the mighty ambition of Hambden, taught diſguiſe, not moderation, from former conſtraint; ſupported by courage, conducted by prudence, embelliſhed by modeſty; but whether founded in a love of power or zeal for liberty, is ſtill, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain: then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous ſpirit of Hollis, violent and ſincere, open and entire in his enmities and in his friendſhips; the enthuſiaſtic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends which he purſued, ſagacious and profound in the

the means which he employed; incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.

Even men of the moſt moderate tempers exerted themſelves with the utmoſt vigour in the redreſs of grievances. The lively and animated Digby diſplayed his eloquence on this occaſion, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modeſt and candid Palmer. In this liſt too of patriot royaliſts are found the virtuous names of Hyde and Falkland. Though in their ultimate views and intentions, theſe men differed widely from the former; in their preſent actions and diſcourſes, an entire concurrence and unanimity was obſerved.

The harrangues of members now firſt publiſhed, kept alive the diſcontents againſt the king's adminiſtration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers, reſounded with fanaticiſm. The preſs, freed from all reſerve, teemed with ſeditious publications; and noiſe and fury, cant and hypocriſy, formed the ſole rhetoric which, during this tumult of various prejudices and paſſions, could be heard or attended to.

Prynne, Baſtwic, and Burton, on their ſentences being reviſed by parliament, were releaſed from priſon; and theſe libellers entered the capital, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the multitude.

Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redreſs for particular grievances. And ſo many grievances were offered, that the houſe was divided into forty committees, each charged with the examination of ſome pretended violation of law and liberty.

Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the ſentence againſt Hambden cancelled; the court of York aboliſhed; compoſitions for knighthood ſtigmatized; the enlargement of the foreſts condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late meaſure of adminiſtration treated with reproach and obloquy.

The king had remained paſſive during theſe violent operations. "You have taken the whole ma-"chine of government to pieces," ſaid Charles in a diſcourſe to the parliament; "a practice frequent "with ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the "wheels from any ruſt which may have grown up-"on them. The engine," continued he, "may "again be reſtored to its former uſe and motions, "provided it be put up entire; ſo as not a pin of "it be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons. The machine they thought, with ſome reaſon, was incumbered with many wheels and ſprings, which retarded and croſſed its operations, and deſtroyed its utility. Happy! had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented, in their preſent plenitude of power, to remove ſuch parts only as might juſtly be deemed ſuperfluous and incongruous.

The commons, beſides overawing their opponents, judged it requiſite to inſpire with courage, their adherents. For the ſubſiſtence of the Scots, they conſented to give 850 pounds a-day; their object in this liberality, was openly revealed in the ſpeech of Strode, which contained, according to the mode of the age, an alluſion to ſcripture. *We cannot yet ſpare the Scots*, ſaid he, *the ſons of Zeruiah are ſtill too ſtrong for us*; as ſuch uſeful allies, no wonder they were courted with unlimited complaiſance. St. Antholine's church was aſſigned them for their devotions; here their chaplains began to practice the preſbyterian mode of worſhip; to this diſcipline the popular leaders among the commons were ſufficiently inclined; and the puritanical party, taking advantage of the preſent diſorders, threw off all diſguiſe, and furiouſly attacked the eſtabliſhed religion.

A bill which had paſſed the commons, prohibiting all clergymen the exerciſe of any civil office, and of courſe, depriving the biſhops of their ſeats among the peers, was rejected by the upper houſe; the puritans, however, far from being diſcouraged by

by this check, the firſt they had received, brought in another bill immediately for the total abolition of epiſcopacy, though they thought proper to let it ſleep till a more favourable opportunity.

Among other acts of regal executive power, which the commons were every day aſſuming, they iſſued orders for demoliſhing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous ſir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of theſe orders was committed, removed all croſſes even out of ſtreets and markets; and from his abhorrence of that ſuperſtitious figure, would not any-where allow one piece of wood or ſtone to lie over another at right angles.

Though diſuſe of parliaments, proſecution of members, ſhip-money, and an arbitrary adminiſtration were loudly complained of, yet the grievances which tended chiefly to inflame the parliament and the nation, eſpecially the latter, were the ſurplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the ſabbath, embroidered copes, lawn ſleeves, the uſe of the ring in marriage, and of the croſs in baptiſm.

The laws as they ſtood at preſent protected the church, but they expoſed the catholics to the utmoſt rage of the puritans. The commons addreſſed the king to ſeize two thirds of the lands of the recuſants; a proportion, to which by law he was entitled; but which he had always allowed them to poſſeſs upon eaſy compoſitions. The execution of the bloody laws againſt prieſts was inſiſted. One Goodman, a jeſuit, who was found in priſon, was condemned to a capital puniſhment. Charles, however, agreeably to his uſual principles, ſcrupled to ſign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expreſſed great reſentment on the occaſion. There remains a ſingular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a ſource of contention between the king and his people. He eſcaped with his life; but it ſeems more probable that he was overlooked amidſt affairs of greater conſequence,

ſequence, than ſuch unrelenting hatred would be ſoftened by any conſideration of his courage and generoſity.

The queen mother of France, having been forced into baniſhment by ſome court intrigue, had retired for ſafety to England; ſhe was menaced by the populace on account of her religion; the earl of Holland, lieutenant of Middleſex, finding himſelf unable to protect her, laid the caſe before the houſe of peers, and urged the indelible reproach that would fall upon the nation, if that unfortunate queen ſhould ſuffer any violence from the miſguided zeal of the people. The peers communicated the matter to the commons, who agreed to the neceſſity of protecting the queen mother; but at the ſame time prayed that ſhe might be deſired to depart the kingdom, to quiet thoſe jealouſies which were occaſioned by the exerciſe in her houſe, "of the ſuperſtitious cere-"monies of the Romiſh church."

Charles, convinced by experience of the danger of his former meaſures, endeavoured now to regain the confidence of his people by conceſſions. He paſſed a bill, by which the right of granting tonnage and poundage was for ever veſted in the commons. He made a little difficulty with regard to the bill for terrennial parliaments. By an old ſtatute, paſſed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, that parliaments ſhould be held once every year, or more frequently if neceſſary: but as no proviſion had been made in caſe of failure, and no preciſe method pointed out for execution; this ſtatute had been conſidered merely as a general declaration, and was diſpenſed with at pleaſure. The defect was ſupplied by thoſe vigilant patriots who now aſſumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was firſt bound under ſevere penalties, failed to iſſue writs by the third of September in every third year, any twelve or more of the peers ſhould be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, that the

ſheriffs,

ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. ſhould ſummon the voters: and in their default, that the voters themſelves ſhould meet and proceed to the election of members, in the ſame manner as if writs had been regularly iſſued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was aſſembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own conſent, during the ſpace of fifty days. Charles, finding nothing elſe would ſatisfy his parliament and people, at laſt gave his aſſent to this bill, which produced ſo great an innovation in the conſtitution.

The king thought conceſſions made to the public were of little conſequence, if no gratifications were beſtowed on individuals; a change of miniſters, as well as of meaſures, was reſolved on. The earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol, and Warwic, the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton, all noblemen of the popular party, were admitted privy counſellors. It was intended that Bedford ſhould have ſucceeded Juxon, who had reſigned the treaſurers ſtaff; but that nobleman, unfortunately both for king and people, died about this very time. By ſome promotions, place was made for St. John, who was created ſolicitor-general. Hollis was to be made ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Windebank, who had fled: Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had reſigned: Lord Say, maſter of the wards, in the room of the ſame nobleman: the earl of Eſſex, governor; and Hambden, tutor to the prince.

What retarded the execution of theſe projected changes, was that the perſons whom Charles intended to diſtinguiſh by his favour, were unwilling to undergo the reproach of having ſacrificed to their ambition, the cauſe of the nation. On all occaſions, they had no other advice to give the king than to allow himſelf to be directed by his parliament; and Charles found, that inſtead of acquiring friends by the favours he ſhould beſtow, he ſhould only arm his enemies with more power to hurt him.

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The end on which the king was moſt intent was to ſave the life of the earl of Strafford, but the impeachment of that nobleman was puſhed on with increaſe of vigour; a committee of thirteen was choſen by the lower houſe, and entruſted with the office of preparing a charge againſt him. Theſe, joined to a ſmall committee of lords, were veſted with authority to examine all witneſſes, to call for every paper, and to uſe any means of ſcrutiny, with regard to any part of the earl's behaviour and conduct.

Application was made to the king that he would allow this committee to examine privy counſellors touching opinions delivered at the board; and Charles unwarily conſented, without reflecting that hereafter all confidence muſt be baniſhed from the deliberations of council.

When intelligence arrived in Ireland of the plans laid for Strafford's ruin, the Iriſh houſe of commons, though they had very lately beſtowed ample praiſes on his adminiſtration, ſent over a committee to London to aſſiſt in the proſecution of their unfortunate governor. The biſhops being forbidden by the ancient canons to aſſiſt in trials for life, and being unwilling by any oppoſition to irritate the commons, who were already much prejudiced againſt them, thought proper, of themſelves, to withdraw.

To beſtow the greater ſolemnity on this important trial, ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall; where both houſes ſat, the one as accuſers, the other as judges. Beſides the chair of ſtate, a cloſe gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who atttended during the whole trial. A.D. 1641.

An accuſation carried on by the united effort of three kingdoms, againſt one man, unprotected by power, unaſſiſted by counſel, diſcountenanced by authority, was likely to prove a very unequal conteſt; yet ſuch were the capacity, genius, preſence of mind, diſplayed by this magnanimous ſtateſman,

that while argument and reaſon and law had any place, he obtained an undiſputed victory. And he periſhed at laſt, overwhelmed, and ſtill unſubdued, by the open violence of his fierce and unrelenting antagoniſts.

The articles of impeachment againſt Strafford are twenty-eight in number; and regard his conduct as preſident of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as counſellor or commander in England. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accuſation, and all Strafford's anſwers were extemporary; it appears from compariſon, not only that he was free from the crime of treaſon, of which there is not the leaſt appearance, but that his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, expoſed to ſuch ſevere ſcrutiny, was innocent, and even laudable.

In the government of Ireland he had maintained the army in ſevere diſcipline; had introduced induſtry, and all the arts of peace among a rude people; had augmented the ſhipping of the kingdom a hundred fold; had promoted manufactures and agriculture; and had encouraged the proteſtant religion without perſecuting the catholics.

No imputation of rapacity could juſtly lie againſt his adminiſtration. Some inſtances of imperious expreſſions, and even actions, may be met with. The caſe of lord Mountnorris, of all thoſe which were collected with ſo much induſtry, is the moſt flagrant and the leaſt excuſeable.

It had been reported at the table of lord chancellor Loftus, that Anneſley, one of the deputy's attendants, in moving a ſtool, had ſorely hurt his maſter's foot, who was at that time afflicted with the gout. *Perhaps*, ſaid Mountnorris, who was preſent at table, *it was done in revenge of that public affront which my lord deputy formerly put upon him:* BUT HE HAS A BROTHER, WHO WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN SUCH A REVENGE. This caſual, and ſeemingly innocent,

cent, at leaſt ambiguous, expreſſion, was reported to Strafford; who, on pretence that ſuch a ſuggeſtion might prompt Anneſley to avenge himſelf in another manner, ordered Mountnorris, who was an officer, to be tried by a court-martial for mutiny and ſedition againſt his general. The court, which conſiſted of the chief officers of the army, found the crime to be capital, and condemned that nobleman to loſe his head.

In vain did Strafford plead, in his own defence, againſt this article of impeachment, that the ſentence of Mountnorris was the deed, and that too unanimous, of the court, not the act of the deputy; that he ſpake not to a member of the court, nor voted in the cauſe, but ſat uncovered as a party, and then immediately withdrew, to leave them to their freedom; that, ſenſible of the iniquity of the ſentence, he procured his majeſty's free pardon to Mountnorris; and that he did not even keep that nobleman a moment in ſuſpenſe with regard to his fate, but inſtantly told him, that he himſelf would ſooner loſe his right hand than execute ſuch a ſentence, nor was his lordſhip's life in any danger. In vain did Strafford's friends add, as a further apology, that Mountnorris was a man of an infamous character, who paid court, by the loweſt adulation, to all deputies, while preſent; and blackened their character, by the vileſt calumnies, when recalled: And that Strafford, expecting like treatment, had uſed this expedient for no other purpoſe than to ſubdue the petulant ſpirit of the man. Theſe excuſes alleviate the guilt; but there ſtill remains enough to prove, that the mind of the deputy, though great and firm, had been not a little debauched by the riot of abſolute power and uncontrolled authority.

In the famous ſtatute of Edward III. all kinds of treaſon are enumerated, and every other crime, beſides ſuch as are there expreſsly mentioned, are carefully excluded from that appellation; but with re-

gard to the guilt of which Strafford was accuſed, *an endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws*, the ſtatute of treaſon is totally ſilent.

"Where has this ſpecies of guilt laid ſo long "concealed," ſaid Strafford in concluſion: "where "has this fire been ſo long buried, during ſo many "centuries, that no ſmoke ſhould appear till it "burſt out at once to conſume me and my child-"ren? It is now full two hundred and forty years "ſince treaſons were defined; and ſo long has it "been ſince any man was touched to this extent "upon this crime before myſelf.

"Let us not, to our own deſtruction, awake "thoſe ſleeping lions, by rattling up a company of "old records, which have lain for ſo many ages by "the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my "afflictions, add not this, my lords, the moſt ſe-"vere of any; that I, for my other ſins, not for "my treaſons, be the means of introducing a pre-"cedent ſo pernicious to the laws and liberties of "my native country.

"However, theſe gentlemen at the bar ſay they "ſpeak for the commonwealth; and they believe "ſo:—Yet, under favour, it is I who, in this parti-"cular, ſpeak for the commonwealth. Precedents, "like thoſe which are endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed "againſt me, muſt draw along ſuch inconveniencies "and miſeries, that, in a few years, the kingdom "will be in the condition expreſſed in a ſtatute of "Henry IV. and no man ſhall know by what rule "to govern his words and actions.

"Impoſe not, my lords, difficulties inſurmount-"able upon miniſters of ſtate, nor diſable them from "ſerving with cheerfulneſs their king and country. "If you examine them, and under ſuch ſevere pe-"nalties, by every grain, by every little weight, "the ſcrutiny will be intolerable. The public af-"fairs of the kingdom muſt be left waſte; and no "wiſe man, who has any honour or fortune to loſe,

"will

" will ever engage himſelf in ſuch dreadful, ſuch " unknown perils.

" My lords, I have now troubled your lordſhips " a great deal longer than I ſhould have done. " Were it not for the intereſt of theſe pledges, " which a ſaint in heaven left me, I ſhould be " loth"—Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping ſtopped him—" What I forfeit for my- " ſelf, it is nothing: But, I confeſs, that my in- " diſcretion ſhould forfeit for them, it wounds me " very deeply. You will be pleaſed to pardon my " infirmity:—ſomething I ſhould have ſaid; but " I ſee I ſhall not be able, and therefore I ſhall " leave it.

" And now, my lords, I thank God, I have " been, by his bleſſing, ſufficiently inſtructed in " the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, " compared to the importance of our eternal dura- " tion. And ſo, my lords, even ſo, with all hu- " mility, and with all tranquility of mind, I ſubmit, " clearly and freely, to your judgments:—and " whether that righteous doom ſhall be to life or " death, I ſhall repoſe myſelf, full of gratitude and " confidence, in the arms of the great Author of " my exiſtence."

Certainly, ſays Whitlocke, with his uſual candour, *never any man acted ſuch a part, on ſuch a theatre, with more wiſdom, conſtancy, and eloquence, with greater reaſon, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent perſon; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, ſome few excepted, to remorſe and pity.* It is remarkable, that the hiſtorian who expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms, was himſelf chairman of that committee, which conducted the impeachment againſt this unfortunate ſtateſman. The accuſation and defence laſted eighteen days. The managers divided the ſeveral articles among them, and attacked the priſoner with all the weight of authority, with all the vehemence

of rhetoric, with all the accuracy of long preparation. Strafford was obliged to ſpeak with deference and reſerve towards his moſt inveterate enemies, the commons, the Scottiſh nation, and the Iriſh parliament. He took only a very ſhort time, on each article, to recollect himſelf: yet he alone, without aſſiſtance, mixing modeſty and humility with firmneſs and vigour, made ſuch a defence, that the commons ſaw it impoſſible, by a legal proſecution, ever to obtain a ſentence againſt him.

But the death of Strafford was too important a ſtroke to be left unattempted by any expedient whatever: a bill of attainder was therefore brought into the lower houſe, and a new proof of guilt was produced to remove the ſcruples of ſuch as ſtill doubted.

Sir Henry Vane, ſecretary, had taken ſome notes of a debate in council, after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament; and being at a diſtance, he had ſent the keys of his cabinet, as was pretended, to his ſon, ſir Henry, in order to ſearch for ſome papers, which were neceſſary for completing a marriage ſettlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmoſt importance; and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the houſe of commons. The queſtion before the council was, *Offenſive or defenſive war with the Scots.* The king propoſes this difficulty, "But how can "I undertake offenſive war, if I have no more "money?" The anſwer aſcribed to Strafford was in theſe words: "Borrow of the city a hundred "thouſand pounds: go on vigorouſly to levy "ſhip-money. Your majeſty having tried the af-"fections of your people, you are abſolved and "looſe from all rules of government, and may do "what power will admit. Your majeſty, having "tried all ways, ſhall be acquitted before God and "man. And you have an army in Ireland, which "you may employ to reduce THIS kingdom to obe-

"dience: for I am confident the Scots cannot "hold out five months." There followed ſome counſels of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the king's being abſolved from all rules of government.

This paper was pretended to be equivalent to two witneſſes; and though it was replied by Strafford that Vane was his declared enemy, and that nothing could be more iniquitous than to extract an accuſation of treaſon from an opinion ſimply propoſed at the council-table, yet it was the real cauſe of Strafford's unhappy fate, and made the bill of attainder paſs the commons with no greater oppoſition than that of fifty-nine voices.

The aſſent of the king and the lords to the bill was ſtill requiſite; and it is doubtful whether this difficulty could have been overcome, had not a new diſcovery thrown every thing into flame and combuſtion.

A plan had been formed by Goring, and ſome other officers diſguſted with the parliament, for engaging the Engliſh army into the king's ſervice; and a petition was drawn up to be ſubſcribed by the officers and ſoldiers, repreſenting the dangerous conſequences of the late innovations. The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on, ſomewhat imprudently, to counterſign it himſelf, as a mark of his approbation. But, as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the project was laid aſide two months before any public diſcovery was made of it.

It was Goring who betrayed the ſecret to the popular leaders. The alarm may eaſily be conceived which this intelligence conveyed: new rumours of conſpiracies were every day circulated. In Lancaſhire, great multitudes of papiſts were aſſembling: ſecret meetings were held by them in caves, and under-ground in Surry: they had entered into a plot to blow up the river with gun-powder, in order to drown the city: proviſions of arms were making be-

yond ſea: ſometimes France, ſometimes Denmark, was forming deſigns againſt the kingdom: and the populace, who are always terrified with preſent, and enraged with diſtant dangers, were ſtill farther animated in their demands of juſtice againſt the unfortunate Strafford.

About eighty peers had conſtantly attended Strafford's trial; but ſuch apprehenſions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only forty-five were preſent when the bill of attainder was brought into the houſe. Yet of theſe, nineteen had the courage to vote againſt it. A certain proof, that, if entire freedom had been allowed, the bill had been rejected by a great majority.

The queen, terrified by the diſpoſition of the people, who flocked round Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of juſtice with open menaces, preſſed Charles to content his people. Of all the miniſters, Juxon alone, whoſe courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to adviſe him, if in his conſcience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to aſſent to it.

Strafford, hearing of Charles's irreſolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary ſtep: he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the ſake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting them the requeſt for which they were ſo importunate. "In this," added he, "my "conſent will more acquit you to God than all the "world can do beſides. To a willing man there "is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I forgive "all the world with a calmneſs and meekneſs, of "infinite contentment to my diſlodging ſoul; ſo, "ſir, to you I can reſign the life of this world "with all imaginable cheerfulneſs, in the juſt "acknowledgent of your exceeding favours."

After the moſt violent anxiety and doubt, Charles at laſt granted a commiſſion to four nobleman, to give the royal aſſent in his name to the bill; and in the

the agony of grief and ſhame for Strafford's doom, he empowered the ſame commiſſioners to ſanction another bill by which the parliament could not be adjourned, or diſſolved without their own conſent; a bill more fatal to the king's authority than that which involved the life of his miniſter.

Secretary Carleton was ſent by the king to inform Strafford of the final reſolution which neceſſity had extorted from him. The earl ſeemed ſurpriſed, and ſtarting up, exclaimed, in the words of Scripture, *Put not your truſt in princes, nor in the ſons of men: for in them there is no ſalvation.* He was ſoon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared himſelf to ſuffer the fatal ſentence. Only three days' interval was allowed him. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, and ſent, by the hands of the young prince, a letter addreſſed to the peers, in which he intreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of Strafford's ſentence, and begged at leaſt for ſome delay, was refuſed in both requeſts.

Strafford, in paſſing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the ſcaffold was erected, ſtopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendſhip; and intreated the aſſiſtance of his prayers, in thoſe awful moments which were approaching: the aged primate, diſſolved in tears; and having pronounced, wich a broken voice, a tender bleſſing on his departing friend, ſunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford, ſtill ſuperior to his fate, moved on with an elated countenance, and with an air even of greater dignity than what uſually attended him. He wanted that conſolation which commonly ſupports thoſe who periſh by the ſtroke of injuſtice and oppreſſion: He was not buoyed up by glory, nor by the affectionate compaſſion of the ſpectators. Yet his mind, erect and undaunted, found reſources within itſelf, and maintained its unbroken reſolution, amidſt the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his miſguided

miſguided enemies. His diſcourſe on the ſcaffold was full of decency and courage, "He feared," he ſaid, "that the omen was bad for the intended "reformation of the ſtate, that it commenced with "the ſhedding of innocent blood." Having bid a laſt adieu to his brother and friends who attended him, and having ſent a bleſſing to his nearer relations who were abſent; "And now," ſaid he, "I have nigh done! One ſtroke will make my wife "a widow, my dear children fatherleſs, deprive my "poor ſervants of their indulgent maſter, and ſepa-"rate me from my affectionate brother and all my "friends! But let God be to you and them all in "all!" Going to diſrobe, and prepare himſelf for the block, "I thank God," ſaid he, "that I am "nowiſe afraid of death, nor am daunted with any "terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at "this time as ever I did when going to repoſe!" With one blow was a period put to his life by the executioner.

Thus periſhed in the 49th year of his age, the earl of Strafford, the miſtaken victim of popular reſentment; ſince all the violent meaſures which the king had uſed for raiſing ſupplies were the reſult of meaſures previous to his favour; nor did Charles by the ſacrifice of this faithful and able ſervant obtain his ends. The commons ſtill cheriſhed the ſame implacable jealouſy of the crown; they extorted from the king his conſent to a bill aboliſhing the courts of high commiſſion and ſtar-chamber: they prevailed on him to give the judges patents during their good behaviour, inſtead of patents during pleaſure; a reform which barred the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of juſtice.

The marſhal's court, which took cognizance of offenſive words, and was not thought ſufficiently limited by law, was alſo, for that reaſon, aboliſhed. The ſtannary courts, which exerciſed juriſdiction over the miners, being liable to a like objection, underwent

underwent a like fate. The abolition of the council of the north and the council of Wales followed from the ſame principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general inſpection over the weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, ſheriffs, and ordinary magiſtrates.

The parliament now came to a pauſe. The king had promiſed his Scottiſh ſubjects, that he would this ſummer pay them a viſit, in order to ſettle their government; and though the Engliſh parliament was very importunate with him, that he ſhould lay aſide that journey; they could not prevail with him ſo much as to delay it. As he muſt neceſſarily in his journey have paſſed through the troops of both nations, the commons ſeem to have entertained great jealouſy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the diſbanding of the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scots were fully paid them; and thoſe of the Engliſh in part. The Scots returned home, and the Engliſh were ſeparated into their ſeveral counties, and diſmiſſed.

After this the parliament adjourned; a ſmall committee of both houſes, conſiſting of the earl of Bedford, lord Howard, ſir Philip Stapleton, Armyne, Fienne, and Hambden, being appointed to attend the king to Scotland.

Amidſt the great variety of affairs which occurred during this buſy period, we have almoſt overlooked the marriage of the princeſs Mary with William prince of Orange. The king concluded not this alliance without communicating his intentions to the parliament, who received the propoſal with ſatisfaction. This was the commencement of the connections with the family of Orange: connections which were afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences both to the kingdom and to the houſe of Stuart.

Charles, deſpoiled in England of a conſiderable part

part of his authority, arrived in Scotland to abdicate the ſmall ſhare of power which *there* remained to him.

The lords of articles were an ancient inſtitution in the Scottiſh parliament. They were conſtituted after this manner: the temporal lords choſe eight biſhops; the biſhops elected eight temporal lords: theſe ſixteen named eight commiſſioners of counties, and eight burgeſſes: and without the previous conſent of the thirty-two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in parliament. As the biſhops were entirely devoted to the court, it is evident that all the lords of articles, by neceſſary conſequence depended on the king's nomination; and the prince, beſides one negative after the bills had paſſed through parliament, poſſeſſed indirectly another before their introduction; a prerogative of much greater conſequence than the former. The bench of biſhops being now aboliſhed, the parliament laid hold of the opportunity, and totally ſet aſide the lords of articles: and till this important point was obtained, the nation, properly ſpeaking, could not be ſaid to enjoy any regular freedom.

The peers and commons formed only one houſe in the Scottiſh parliament: and as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace Engliſh gentlemen with Scottiſh titles, all the determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of theſe votes of foreigners, who had no intereſt or property in the nation. It was therefore a law deſerving approbation, that no man ſhould be created a Scotch peer, who poſſeſſed not 10,000 marks (above 500 pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom.

A law for triennial parliaments was likewiſe paſſed; and it was ordained, that the laſt act of every parliament ſhould be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next enſuing.

But the moſt fatal blow to the royal authority, was

was the article that no member of the privy-council, in whoſe hands, during the king's abſence, the whole adminiſtration lay, no officer of ſtate, none of the judges, ſhould be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their ſeats, four judges who had adhered to his intereſts; and their place was ſupplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the covenanters were alſo ſworn of the privy-council. And all the miniſters of ſtate, counſellors and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life or good behaviour.

But while the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion broke out in Ireland with circumſtances of the utmoſt horror and devaſtation.

During a peace of near forty years the inveterate quarrels between the native Iriſh and the Engliſh ſettlers; ſeemed, in a great meaſure, obliterated. But after the death of Strafford, the Iriſh parliament followed the example of the Scottiſh and the Engliſh, in their encroachments on the royal prerogative. Thoſe ſubſidies, which themſelves had voted, they reduced, by a ſubſequent vote, to a fourth part: the court of high commiſſion was determined to be a grievance: martial law aboliſhed: the juriſdiction of the council annihilated: proclamations and acts of ſtate declared of no authority: every order or inſtitution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and the prince was deſpoiled of all his prerogative, without the leaſt pretext of any violence or illegality in his adminiſtration.

To the uſual ſtanding army of Ireland of 3000 men, Strafford had added 8000 more, of whom the privates were catholics, but the officers proteſtants. This army, as it was entirely attached to Charles, inſpired the Engliſh commons with the greateſt apprehenſions; they inſiſted on its being diſbanded: nor would they conſent to the propoſal of Charles,

who thought it dangerous ſuch a number of men trained to arms ſhould be left in idleneſs, to tranſport them to Flanders, and enliſt them in the Spaniſh ſervice.

The old Iriſh remarked theſe falſe ſteps, and prepared to take advantage of them: their animoſity to the Engliſh was ſuſpended not extinguiſhed. Their intereſts, both with regard to *property* and *religion*, ſecretly ſtimulated them to a revolt. No individual of any ſept, according to the ancient cuſtoms, had the property of any particular eſtate; but as the whole ſept had a title to a whole territory, they ignorantly preferred this barbarous community before the more ſecure and narrower poſſeſſions aſſigned them by the Engliſh. An indulgence, amounting almoſt to a toleration, had been given to the catholic religion: but ſo long as the churches and the eccleſiaſtical revenues were kept from the prieſts, and they were obliged to endure the neighbourhood of profane heretics, being themſelves diſcontented, they continually endeavoured to retard any cordial reconciliation between the Engliſh and the Iriſh nations.

There was a gentleman, called Roger More, who, though of narrow fortune, was deſcended from an ancient Iriſh family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity. This man firſt formed the project of expelling the Engliſh. He ſecretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and rouſed up every latent principle of diſcontent. He maintained a cloſe correſpondence with lord Maguire, and ſir Phelim O'Neale, the moſt powerful of the old Iriſh; and it was determined the ſame day that O'Neale and the other chiefs ſhould begin an inſurrection in the provinces, lord Maguire and Roger More ſhould ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin.

The earl of Lieceſter, the lieutenant of Ireland, was abſent in London. Sir William Parſons and ſir John Borlace, men of narrow capacities, indulged

ed in that repoſe which ariſes from ignorance and inexperience; Maguire and More were already in Dublin with a numerous band of their partiſans; when on the eve of the day appointed for the commencement, the ſecret was betrayed by a proteſtant conſpirator of the name of O'Connolly. The juſtices and council retired immediately to the caſtle; Maguire was apprehended, and More with difficulty eſcaped.

O'Connolly's diſcovery ſaved the caſtle from ſurpriſe, but came too late to prevent the intended inſurrection: O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulſter; the Iriſh every where intermingled with the Engliſh, needed but a hint from their leaders and prieſts to begin hoſtilities againſt a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and proſperity. The houſes, cattle, goods, of the unwary Engliſh were firſt ſeized. Thoſe who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, inſtead of deſerting their habitations, and aſſembling for mutual protection remained at home in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus ſeparately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itſelf, cruelty, and the moſt barbarous that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An univerſal maſſacre commenced of the Engliſh, now defenceleſs, and paſſively reſigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no ſex, no condition was ſpared. The wife weeping for her butchered huſband, and embracing her helpleſs children, was pierced with them, and periſhed by the ſame ſtroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault: deſtruction was every where let looſe, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourſe had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connexions were diſſolved, and death was dealt by that hand from

from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without oppoſition, the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, living in profound peace and full ſecurity, were maſſacred by their neareſt neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continual intercourſe of kindneſs and good offices.

But death was the ſlighteſt puniſhment inflicted by thoſe rebels: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could deviſe, all the lingering pains of body, the anguiſh of mind, the agonies of deſpair, could not ſatiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cauſe. Many ingenious in their barbarity, tempted their priſoners by the fond love of life, to embrue their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death which they ſought to ſhun by deſerving it.

The generous nature of More was ſhocked at the recital of ſuch enormous cruelties: he flew to O'Neale's camp: but found that his authority, which was ſufficient to excite the Iriſh to an inſurrection, was too feeble to reſtrain their inhumanity. Soon after, he abandoned a cauſe polluted by ſo many crimes; and he retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatneſs of his family, and perhaps too, by the unreſtrained brutality of his nature, though without any courage or capacity acquired the entire aſcendant over the northern rebels.

From Ulſter the flames of rebellion diffuſed themſelves in an inſtant over the other three provinces; and all places were marked with death and ſlaughter. The ſaving of Dublin alone preſerved in Ireland the remains of the Engliſh name. The gates of that city, though timorouſly opened, received the wretched ſupplicants, and preſented to the view a ſcene of human miſery beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compaſſion ſeized the amazed inhabitants, aggravated with the fear of like calamities; while they obſerved the numerous foes without

without and within, which every where environed them, and reflected on the weak reſources by which they were themſelves ſupported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thouſand, were inliſted into three regiments: the reſt were diſtributed into the houſes; and all care was taken, by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diſeaſes of unknown name and ſpecies, derived from theſe multiplied diſtreſſes, ſeized many of them, and put a ſpeedy period to their lives: others, having now leiſure to reflect on their mighty loſs of friends and fortune, curſed that being which they had ſaved. Abandoning themſelves to deſpair, refuſing all ſuccour, they expired; without other conſolation than that of receiving among their countrymen the honours of a grave, which, to their ſlaughtered companions had been denied by the inhuman barbarians.

The Engliſh of the pale, who at firſt pretended to blame the inſurrection, now joined the old Iriſh; and an army of twenty thouſand men threatened Dublin with an immediate ſiege: they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter for their inſurrection; and they affirmed, that the cauſe of their taking arms was to vindicate royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament. Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's houſe, whom he had murdered, tore off the ſeal, and affixed it to a commiſſion which he had forged for himſelf.

The king received an account of this inſurrection by a meſſenger diſpatched from the north of Ireland. No effectual aſſiſtance he found could be expected from Scotland; and it was on the Engliſh parliament he was reduced to depend for ſupply. That aſſembly was ſcarce met before it was diſcovered, that the exalting of their own authority, and the diminiſhing of the king's, were ſtill the objects purſued by the majority. The danger to which the conſtitution ſeemed ſo lately expoſed,

perſuaded many that it never could be ſufficiently ſecured but by the entire abolition of that power which had invaded it. In this project the popular leaders were fortified by the paſſion which had ſeized the nation for preſbyterian diſcipline. From policy, at firſt, and inclination, now from neceſſity, the king attached himſelf extremely to the hierarchy: for like reaſons, his enemies were determined, by one and the ſame effort, to overpower the church and monarchy.

The Iriſh rebellion tended to promote the views of the commons. Accuſtomed in all invectives to join the prelatical party with the papiſts, the people immediately ſuppoſed this inſurrection to be the reſult of their united counſels. And when they heard that the Iriſh rebels pleaded the king's commiſſion for all their acts of violence, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, aſſented, without ſcruple, to that groſs impoſture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance ſo barbarous and inhuman.

The expreſſion of the king's, by which he committed to the commons the care of Ireland, was immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the moſt unlimited ſenſe. By aſſuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtſhip and dependence of every one who had any connexion with Ireland, or who was deſirous of inliſting in theſe military enterpriſes: they levied money under pretence of the Iriſh expedition; but reſerved it for purpoſes which concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines; but ſtill kept them with a ſecret intention of employing them againſt himſelf. Whatever law they deemed neceſſary for aggrandiſing themſelves, was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal aſſent, his refuſal was imputed to thoſe pernicious counſels which had at firſt excited the popiſh rebellion, and which ſtill threatened total deſtruction to the proteſtant intereſt

through-

throughout all his dominions. And though no forces were for a long time ſent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the extreme diſtreſs of that kingdom; ſo ſtrong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to thoſe pious zealots, whoſe votes breathed nothing but death and deſtruction to the Iriſh rebels.

To make the attack on royal authority more regular, it was thought proper to frame a general remonſtrance of the ſtate of the nation, which contained every real or ſuppoſed grievance ſince the acceſſion of Charles. After a long debate, it was printed and publiſhed without being carried up to the houſe of peers for their concurrence.

The minds of people were violently agitated by this meaſure. Charles, upon his return from Scotland, had been received in London with the ſhouts and acclamations of the multitude. Sir Richard Gournay, the lord mayor, a man of moderation and authority, had promoted theſe favourable diſpoſitions, and had engaged the populace, who ſo lately inſulted the king, and who ſo ſoon after made furious war upon him, to give him theſe marks of their dutiful attachment. But all the pleaſure which Charles reaped from this joyous reception, was ſoon damped by the remonſtrance of the commons, which was preſented him, together with a petition of a like ſtrain. The bad counſels which he followed are there complained of; his concurrence in the Iriſh rebellion plainly inſinuated; the ſcheme laid for the introduction of popery and ſuperſtition inveighed againſt; and, as a remedy for all theſe evils, he is deſired to entruſt every office and command to perſons in whom his parliament ſhould have cauſe to confide. By this phraſe, which is ſo often repeated in all the memorials and addreſſes of that time, the commons meant themſelves and their adherents.

The king diſperſed an anſwer to this remon-

ſtrance, in which he made warm proteſtations of ſincerity in the reformed religion; mentioned his great conceſſions to national liberty; and with regard to ill counſels, aſſerted that he had protected no miniſter from parliamentary juſtice, had retained no unpopular ſervant, nor had conferred offices on any one who enjoyed not a high character and eſtimation with the public: but the ears of the people were prejudiced againſt him; and the parliament reſumed without apprehenſion their encroachments. The firſt of theſe was the bill for preſſing ſoldiers to the ſervice of Ireland. In the preamble of it the king's power of preſſing was declared illegal; and of courſe the prerogative which the crown had aſſumed of obliging men to accept any branch of public ſervice was annihilated. In order to elude this, the king offered to raiſe 10,000 volunteers for the Iriſh ſervice; and when that propoſal was rejected, to paſs the law without the preamble, by which the ill-timed queſtion with regard to the prerogative would for the preſent be avoided, and the pretenſions of each party be left entire. Both houſes took fire at this meaſure, which, from a ſimilar inſtance while the bill of attainder againſt Strafford was in dependence, Charles might foreſee would be received with reſentment. The lords, as well as commons, paſſed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill which was in agitation in either of the houſes, or to expreſs his ſentiments with regard to it, before it be preſented to him for his aſſent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compoſe all matters by an apology.

The interpoſition of peers in the election of commoners was likewiſe about this time declared a breach of privilege; and continues ever ſince to be condemned by votes of the commons, and univerſally practiſed throughout the nation.

Every meaſure purſued by the commons ſhowed a determined reſolution of ſubverting the whole eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical government. Their bill for taking away the biſhops' votes had laſt winter been rejected by the peers: they now introduced the ſame bill, though they could not expect the concurrence of the upper houſe, either to this law or to any other, for the further limitation of royal authority. The commons muttered ſomewhat of their regret, that they ſhould be obliged to ſave the kingdom alone, and that the houſe of peers would have no ſhare in the honour. The majority of the peers indeed adhered to the king, and foreſaw, from the propoſed uſurpations on the crown, the depreſſion of nobility; but the tide of popularity ſeized ſome, and carried them wide of the moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy. Among the opponents of the king are ranked the earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, a man of the firſt family and fortune, and endowed with that dignified pride which ſo well became his rank and ſtation. The earl of Eſſex, who inherited all his father's popularity, and having from his early youth ſought renown in arms, united to a middling capacity that rigid inflexibility of honour which forms the proper ornament of a nobleman and a ſoldier.

In order to obtain a majority in the upper houſe, the commons had recourſe to the populace. Amidſt the greateſt ſecurity they affected continual fears of deſtruction to themſelves and the nation: all ſtories of plots, however ridiculous, were willingly liſtened to. Beale, a taylor, informed the commons, that walking in the fields, he had hearkened to the diſcourſe of certain perſons unknown to him, and had heard them talk of a moſt dangerous conſpiracy. A hundred and eight ruffians, as he learned, had been appointed to murder a hundred and eight lords and commoners, and were promiſed rewards for theſe aſſaſſinations, ten pounds for each lord, forty ſhillings for each commoner. Upon this notable intelligence, orders were iſſued for ſeizing prieſts and jeſuits, a conference was deſired with the lords,

and the deputy-lieutenants of ſome ſuſpected counties were ordered to put the people in a poſture of defence.

The pulpits were likewiſe called in aid, and reſounded with the dangers which threatened religion. Not content with inſulting the prelates and peers who adhered to the crown, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out inſolent menaces againſt Charles himſelf. Several reduced officers, and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of diſorder and danger, offered their ſervice to the king. Between them and the populace there paſſed frequent ſkirmiſhes, which ended not without bloodſhed. By way of reproach theſe gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of ROUNDHEADS, on account of the ſhort cropt hair which they wore: theſe called the others CAVALIERS. And thus the nation, which was before ſufficiently provided with religious as well as civil cauſes of quarrel, was alſo ſupplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous, and ſignaliſe their mutual hatred.

Williams, archbiſhop of York, having been abuſed by the populace, prevailed on his brethren to ſtate in an addreſs to the king and lords, that though they had an undoubted right to vote in parliament, they could no longer attend with ſafety the houſe, for which reaſon they proteſted againſt all laws which paſſed in their abſence as null and invalid. This ill-timed proteſtation, which was ſigned by twelve biſhops, was no ſooner preſented to the lords, than it was communicated to the commons. The opportunity was ſeized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treaſon was immediately ſent up againſt the biſhops, as endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legiſlature. They were, on the firſt demand, ſequeſtrated from parliament, and committed to cuſtody.

A few

A few days after, the king was betrayed into another indiſcretion much more fatal. When he conſidered the increaſing inſolence of the commons he was apt to aſcribe it to his own facility: the queen, the ladies of the court, and the lord Digby, a man of fine parts, but full of levity, urged him to exert the vigour of a monarch. Charles yielded to the importunity of his friends and ſervants: Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the houſe of peers, and, in his majeſty's name, entered an accuſation of high treaſon againſt lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Hollis, ſir Arthur Hazlerig, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to alienate from him the affections of his ſubjects. A.D. 1642.

Before men had leiſure to recover from their aſtoniſhment at this important accuſation, their wonder was excited by new attemps, ſtill more precipitate and imprudent. A ſerjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the houſe the five members; and was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. Meſſengers were employed to ſearch for them and arreſt them. Their trunks, chambers, and ſtudies, were ſealed and locked. The houſe voted all theſe acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this oppoſition, reſolved next day to come in perſon to the houſe, with an intention to demand, perhaps ſeize in their preſence, the perſons whom he had accuſed.

This reſolution was diſcovered to the counteſs of Carliſle, ſiſter to Northumberland, a lady of ſpirit, wit, and intrigue. She privately ſent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw a moment before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue to the number

of above two hundred, armed as uſual, ſome with halberts, ſome with walking ſwords. The king left them at the door, and he himſelf advanced alone through the hall; while all the members roſe to receive him. The ſpeaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took poſſeſſion of it. The ſpeech which he made was as follows: "Gentlemen, I am ſorry for this occaſion of coming to you. Yeſterday, I ſent a ſerjeant at arms, to demand ſome who, by my order, were accuſed of high treaſon. Inſtead of obedience, I received a meſſage. I muſt here declare to you, that, though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I ſhall be, yet in caſes of treaſon no perſon has privilege. Therefore, am I come to tell you, that I muſt have theſe men whereſoever I can find them. Well, ſince I ſee all the birds are flown, I do expect that you will ſend them to me as ſoon as they return. But I aſſure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force; but ſhall proceed againſt them in a fair and legal way: for I never meant any other. And now ſince I ſee I cannot do what I came for, I think this is no unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my ſubjects, I do intend to maintain it."

When the king was looking around for the accuſed members, he aſked the ſpeaker, who ſtood below, whether any of theſe perſons were in the houſe? The ſpeaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied, "I have, Sir, neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in this place, but as the houſe is pleaſed to direct me, whoſe ſervant I am. And I humbly aſk pardon, that I cannot give any other anſwer to what your majeſty is pleaſed to demand of me."

The commons were in the utmoſt diſorder; and when the king was departing, ſome members cried aloud,

aloud, ſo as he might hear them, *Privilege! privilege!* and the houſe immediately adjourned till next day.

That evening, the accuſed members, to ſhow the greater apprehenſion, removed into the city, which was their fortreſs. The citizens were the whole night in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpoſe, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to burn the city, and that the king himſelf was at their head.

Next morning Charles ſent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common-council immediately. About ten o'clock, he himſelf, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall. He told the common-council, that he was ſorry to hear of the apprehenſions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to ſhow how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accuſed certain men of high-treaſon, againſt whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore preſumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. After many other gracious expreſſions, he told one of the ſheriffs, who of the two was thought the leaſt inclined to his ſervice, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applauſe which he expected. In paſſing through the ſtreets, he heard the cry, *Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!* reſounding from all quarters. One of the populace, more inſolent than the reſt, drew nigh to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, *To your tents, O Iſrael!* the words employed by the mutinous Iſraelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their raſh and ill-counſelled ſovereign.

After ſome time, during which the houſe acted as if expoſed to imminent peril, it was thought proper the accuſed members ſhould, with a triumphant and military proceſſion, take their ſeats. The river was covered with boats, and other

other veſſels, laden with ſmall pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight. Skippon, whom the parliament had appointed, by their own authority, major-general of the city-militia, conducted the members, at the head of this tumultuary army, to Weſtminſter-hall. And when the populace, by land and by water, paſſed Whitehall, they ſtill aſked with inſulting ſhouts, *What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?*

The king, apprehenſive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton Court, overwhelmed with grief, ſhame, and remorſe. His diſtreſſed ſituation he could no longer aſcribe to the rigours of deſtiny, or the malignity of enemies. His own imprudence had confirmed the triumph of faction. It was in vain he offered to wave all thoughts of proſecution, and to pardon thoſe whom he had accuſed; they were reſolved to accept of no ſatisfaction. They were encouraged by turbulent petitions from the capital, from the counties of Buckingham, Hertford, Surry, and Bucks. The porters, and the beggars followed this laudable example: the very women were ſeized with the ſame rage: a brewer's wife, followed by many thouſands of her ſex, brought a petition to the houſe in which the petitioners expreſſed their terror of the papiſts and prelates: they had been neceſſitated, they ſaid, to imitate the women of Tekoah. Pym came to the door, and having thanked theſe female zealots, begged that their prayers for the ſucceſs of the commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were affected! And by ſuch illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil diſcord and convulſions!

A majority of the lords had hitherto adhered to the king: they now yielded to the torrent; and the bills which had ſtopped with the peers now paſſed that houſe, and were preſented for the royal aſſent. Theſe were, the preſſing bill with its preamble, and the bill againſt the votes of the biſhops in parliament.

liament. The king's authority was at that time reduced to the loweſt ebb. The queen, too, being ſecretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no reſource in her huſband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. Deſirous of facilitating her eſcape, ſhe prevailed with the king to paſs theſe bills in hopes of appeaſing for a time the rage of the multitude.

Theſe conceſſions only enflamed the arrogance of the commons. They opened ſome intercepted letters which had been written to the queen by lord Digby. They carried up an impeachment againſt Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his maſter's commands in accuſing their members. And they proſecuted with freſh vigour their plan of the militia, on which they reſted all future hopes of an uncontrolled authority. The ſword they were conſcious could alone guard their acquired power. This point therefore became their chief object; they diſpatched ſir John Hotham to ſecure Hull, where there was a large magazine of arms. They ſent orders to Goring, governor of Portſmouth, to obey no orders but ſuch as he ſhould receive from the parliament. They prevailed on the king to beſtow the command of the Tower on ſir John Conyers in whom they placed implicit confidence.

The ſevere votes paſſed in the beginning of this parliament againſt lieutenants and their deputies, for exerciſing powers aſſumed by all their predeceſſors, had totally diſarmed the crown, and had not left in any magiſtrate military authority ſufficient for the defence and ſecurity of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared neceſſary. A bill was introduced and paſſed the two houſes, which reſtored to lieutenants and deputies the ſame powers of which the votes of the commons had bereaved them; but at the ſame time the names of all the lieutenants were inſerted in the bill; and theſe conſiſted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they were

were accountable, by the expreſs terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the parliament.

Here Charles ventured firſt to put a ſtop to his conceſſions; and that not by a refuſal but a delay. On his return from Dover, where he had attended the queen and the princeſs of Orange in their embarkation, he even offered to beſtow commiſſions, but revocable at pleaſure, on the ſame perſons whom the parliament had named in their bill. But the intentions of the commons allowed not of any expedient or accommodation. No ſooner did they deſpair of obtaining the king's conſent to their bills, than they inſtantly voted, that if his majeſty perſiſt in his denial, it will hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy be applied by the wiſdom and authority of both houſes; and that ſuch of the ſubjects as have put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the common danger, have done nothing but what is juſtifiable, and approved by the houſe.

That the ſame violence which had ſo long oppreſſed him, might not extort his conſent to the militia-bill, Charles reſolved to remove farther from London. Accompanied by the prince of Wales and duke of York, he proceeded to York: here he found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. From all quarters of England, the prime nobility and gentry, either perſonally, or by meſſages and letters, expreſſed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to ſave himſelf and them from that ignominious ſlavery with which they were threatened. The ſmall interval of time which had paſſed ſince the fatal accuſation of the members, had been ſufficient to open the eyes of many, and to recover them from the aſtoniſhment with which at firſt they had been ſeized. One raſh and paſſionate attempt of the king's ſeemed but a ſmall counterbalance to ſo many acts of deliberate violence which had been offered to him and every branch of the legiſlature: and, however ſweet the ſound of liberty,

berty, many reſolved to adhere to that moderate freedom, tranſmitted them from their anceſtors, and now better ſecured by ſuch important conceſſions, rather than, by engaging in a giddy ſearch after more independence, run a manifeſt riſk either of incurring a cruel ſubjection, or abandoning all law and order.

The commons finding Charles ſtill perſiſted in rejecting their bills, framed an ordinance, in which by the authority of the two houſes, without the king's conſent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the military force of the kingdom. Charles iſſued proclamations againſt this manifeſt uſurpation. And while both parties prepared for action, each was willing to throw the odium of commencing it on its antagoniſt. The war of the pen preceded that of the ſword, and daily ſharpened the humours of the oppoſite parties. Beſides private adventurers without number, the king and parliament themſelves carried on the controverſy by meſſages, remonſtrances, and declarations; where the nation was really the party to whom all arguments were addreſſed. Charles had here a double advantage. Not only his cauſe was more favourable, as ſupporting the ancient government in church and ſtate againſt the moſt illegal pretenſions: it was alſo defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted the office of ſecretary; a man who adorned the pureſt virtue with the richeſt gifts of nature, and the moſt valuable acquiſitions of learning. By him, aſſiſted by the king himſelf, were the memorials of the royal party chiefly compoſed. So ſenſible was Charles of his ſuperiority in this particular, that he took care to diſperſe every where the papers of the parliament together with his own, that the people might be the more enabled, by compariſon, to form a judgment between them: The parliament, while they diſtributed copies of

their

their own, were anxious to ſuppreſs all the king's compoſitions.

Though theſe writings were of conſequence, it was evident that keener weapons muſt decide the controverſy. The magazine of Hull contained the arms of all the forces levied againſt the Scots; and ſir John Hotham, the governor, though he had accepted of a commiſſion from the parliament, was not thought to be much diſaffected to the church and monarchy. Charles, therefore, entertained hopes, that, if he preſented himſelf at Hull before the commencement of hoſtilities, Hotham, overawed by his preſence, would admit him with his retinue; after which he might eaſily render himſelf maſter of the place. But the governor was on his guard. He ſhut the gates, and refuſed to receive the king, who deſired leave to enter with twenty perſons only. Charles immediately proclaimed him traitor, and complained to the parliament of his diſobedience. The parliament avowed and juſtified the action.

The county of York had levied a guard for the king of 600 men: the two houſes, though they had already levied a guard for themſelves, voted, that the king, ſeduced by wicked counſel, intended to make war againſt his parliament. The armies, which had been raiſed on pretence of the ſervice in Ireland, were henceforth more openly inliſted by the parliament for their own purpoſes; and the command of them was given to the earl of Eſſex. In London no leſs than four thouſand men inliſted in one day. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to ſubſcribe, that they would live and die with their general.

They iſſued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces which ſhould defend the king, and both houſes of parliament: for this ſtyle they ſtill preſerved. Within ten days, vaſt quantities of plate were brought to their treaſurers. Hardly were there men enow to receive it,

or

or room ſufficient to ſtow it; and many, with regret, were obliged to carry back their offerings, and wait till the treaſurers could find leiſure to receive them. Such zeal animated the pious partiſans of the parliament, eſpecially in the city! The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houſes, and even their ſilver thimbles and bodkins, in order to ſupport the *good cauſe* againſt the malignants.

Meanwhile the ſplendour of the nobility, with which the king was environed, much eclipſed the appearance at Weſtminſter. Lord-keeper Littleton, after ſending the great ſeal before him, had fled to York. Above forty peers of the firſt rank attended the king; while the houſe of lords ſeldom conſiſted of more than ſixteen members. Near the moiety too of the lower houſe abſented themſelves from counſels which they deemed ſo full of danger. The commons ſent up an impeachment againſt nine peers, for deſerting their duty in parliament. Their own members alſo, who ſhould return to them, they voted not to admit, till ſatisfied concerning the reaſon of their abſence.

Charles made a declaration to the peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land. The peers anſwered this declaration by a proteſt, in which they declared their reſolution to obey no commands but ſuch as were warranted by that authority. By theſe deliberate engagements, ſo worthy of an Engliſh prince and Engliſh nobility, they meant to confound the furious and tumultuary reſolutions taken by the parliament.

The queen, diſpoſing of the crown-jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchaſe a cargo of arms and ammunition. Part of theſe, after eſcaping many perils, arrived ſafely to the king. He now prepared for defence; and the reſources of his genius appeared to increaſe with his difficulties. That he

he might deſpair of all compoſition, the parliament ſent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands, contained in nineteen propoſitions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. They required, that no man ſhould remain in the council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's ſhould have validity, unleſs it paſſed the council, and was atteſted under their hand; that all the officers of ſtate and principal judges ſhould be choſen with conſent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family ſhould marry without conſent of parliament or council; that the laws ſhould be executed againſt catholics; that the votes of popiſh lords ſhould be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government ſhould have place, according to advice of parliament; that the ordnance, with regard to the militia, be ſubmitted to; that the juſtice of parliament paſs upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with ſuch exceptions as ſhould be adviſed by parliament; that the forts and caſtles be diſpoſed of by conſent of parliament; and that no peer be made but with conſent of both houſes.

"Should I grant theſe demands," ſaid the king in reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may "have my hand kiſſed; the title of majeſty may "be continued to me; and *The king's authority, "ſignified by both houſes*, may ſtill be the ſtyle of "your commands; I may have ſwords and maces "carried before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the "ſight of a crown and ſceptre (though even theſe "twigs would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon "which they grew was dead:) but as to true and "real power, I ſhould remain but the outſide, but "the picture, but the ſign of a king." War on any terms was eſteemed, by the king and all his counſellors, preferable to ſo ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly reſolved to ſupport his authority by arms. "His towns," he ſaid, "were taken from

" from him, his ſhips, his arms, his money: but " there ſtill remained to him a good cauſe, and the " hearts of his loyal ſubjects, which, with God's " bleſſing, he doubted not, would recover all the " reſt." Collecting therefore ſome forces, he advanced ſouthwards; and at Nottingham he erected his royal ſtandard, the open ſignal of diſcord and civil war throughout the kingdom.

CHAP. XIX.

CHARLES I.

Commencement of the Civil War.—Battles of Edgehill.—Of Lansdown—Of Roundway Down.—Death of Hambden.—Siege of Glouceſter.—Battle of Newbury.—Solemn League and Covenant.—Arming of the Scots.—State of Ireland.—Battle of Marſton Moor.—Second Battle of Newbury.—Riſe of the Independents.—Self-denying Ordinance.—Treaty of Uxbridge.—Execution of Laud.—Montroſe's Victories.—Battle of Naſeby.—The Weſt conquered by Fairfax.—Defeat of Montroſe.—King goes to the Scots at Newark.—He is delivered up by them.—Mutiny of the Army.—The King ſeized by Joice.—The Army ſubdue the Parliament.—The King flies to the Iſle of Wight.—Is ſeized again by the Army.—The Houſe purged.—The King's Trial,—and Execution,—and Character.

A. D. 1642. WHEN two names, ſo ſacred in the Engliſh conſtitution, as thoſe of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in oppoſition, no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and agitated with the moſt violent animoſities and factions.

The nobility, and more conſiderable gentry, dreading a total confuſion of rank from the fury of the populace, inliſted themſelves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their luſtre. The city of London, on the other hand, and moſt of the great corporations, took part with the parliament. The government of cities, which even under abſolute monar-

thies is commonly republican, inclined them to this party. Many families too, which had lately been enriched by commerce, ſaw with indignation, that, notwithſtanding their opulence, they could not raiſe themſelves to a level with the ancient gentry: they therefore adhered to a power, by whoſe ſucceſs they hoped to acquire rank and conſideration. And the new ſplendour and glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty ſo happily ſupported induſtry, made the commercial part of the nation deſire to ſee a like form of government eſtabliſhed in England.

Never was a quarrel more unequal than ſeemed at firſt that between the contending parties: almoſt every advantage lay againſt the royal cauſe. The king's revenue had been ſeized, from the beginning, by the parliament, who iſſued out to him, from time to time, ſmall ſums for his preſent ſubſiſtence; and as ſoon as he withdrew to York, they totally ſtopped all payments. London, and all the ſea-ports, except Newcaſtle, being in their hands, the cuſtoms yielded them a certain and conſiderable ſupply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impoſitions, were more eaſily raiſed from the cities which poſſeſſed the ready money, and where men lived under their inſpection, than they could be levied by the king in thoſe open countries, which after ſome time declared for him.

The ſeamen naturally followed the diſpoſition of the ſea-ports to which they belonged; and the earl of Northumberland, lord-admiral, having embraced the party of the parliament, had appointed, at their deſire, the earl of Warwic to be his lieutenant, who at once eſtabliſhed his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the ſea in the hands of that aſſembly.

All the magazines of arms and ammunition were from the firſt ſeized by the parliament; and their fleet intercepted the greater part of thoſe which were ſent by the queen from Holland. The king

was obliged, in order to arm his followers, to borrow the weapons of the train-bands, under promiſe of reſtoring them as ſoon as peace ſhould be ſettled in the kingdom.

The torrent alſo of general affection ran to the parliament. What is the great advantage of popularity, the privilege of affixing epithets, fell of courſe to that party. The king's adherents were the *Wicked* and the *Malignant*: their adverſaries were the *Godly* and the *Well-affected*.

What alone gave the king ſome compenſation for all the advantages poſſeſſed by his adverſaries, was the nature and qualities of his adherents. More bravery and activity were hoped for, from the generous ſpirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the baſe diſpoſition of the multitude. And as the men of eſtates, at their own expence, levied and armed their tenants, beſides an attachment to their maſters, greater force and courage were to be expected in theſe ruſtic troops, than in the vicious and enervated populace of cities.

The low condition in which the king appeared at Nottingham confirmed the contempt of the parliament for him. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horſes to tranſport it. Beſides the trained bands of the county, raiſed by ſir John Digby, the ſheriff, he had not gotten together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which conſiſted his chief ſtrength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms.

The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days march of him; and conſiſted of above ſix thouſand men well armed, and well appointed. But the earl of Eſſex, their general, had not yet received any orders; and the parliament flattered themſelves, that the royaliſts, ſenſible of their feeble condition, would diſperſe, and leave to their adverſaries a bloodleſs victory.

Though Charles had declared againſt all ad-

vances towards an accommodation, he was prevailed on by his council to diſpatch to London lord Southampton with offers of a treaty. The parliament demanded as a preliminary, that he ſhould diſmiſs his forces, and give up delinquents to their juſtice; that is, abandon himſelf and his friends to their mercy. Such terms put an end to all proſpect of peace; and the confidence of the parliament was increaſed by two favourable events.

Goring, governor of Portſmouth, a man void of principle or ſteadineſs, while he pretended the greateſt zeal for the popular cauſe, had taken underhand his meaſures with the court, and declared againſt the parliament. But, though he had been ſufficiently ſupplied with money, and long before knew his danger, ſo ſmall was his foreſight, that he had left the place entirely deſtitute of proviſions, and in a few days he was obliged to ſurrender to the parliamentary forces.

The marquis of Hertford was diſtinguiſhed for his mildneſs and humanity; he, though naturally inclined to habits of eaſe and ſtudy, had been prevailed on to accept the ſtation of governor of the young prince. He now exerted himſelf in raiſing an army for the king; and being named general of the weſtern counties, where his intereſt chiefly lay, he began to aſſemble forces in Somerſetſhire. By the aſſiſtance of lord Seymour, lord Paulet, John Digby, ſon of the earl of Briſtol, ſir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together ſome appearance of an army; when the parliament, apprehenſive of the danger, ſent the earl of Bedford with a conſiderable force againſt him. On his approach, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne caſtle; and, finding that place untenable, he himſelf paſſed over into Wales, leaving ſir Ralph Hopton, ſir John Berkeley, Digby, and other officers, with their horſe, conſiſting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of

finding that country better prepared for their reception.

The king on the approach of the earl of Eſſex, at the head of 15000 men, had retired to Shrewſbury; he there made a declaration of his reſolution to maintain the true reformed proteſtant religion, and to conſider the laws the meaſure of his future government. While he lay at Shrewſbury he received the news of an action, the firſt which had happened in theſe wars, and where he was ſucceſsful.

On the appearance of commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, ſons of the unfortunate Palatine, had offered their ſervice to the king; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horſe, which had been ſent to Worceſter in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was marching towards that city. No ſooner had the prince arrived, than he ſaw ſome cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay, he briſkly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane, and forming themſelves. Colonel Sandys, who led them, and who fought with valour, being mortally wounded, fell from his horſe. The whole party was routed, and was purſued above a mile. The prince, hearing of Eſſex's approach, returned to the main body. This rencounter, though in itſelf of ſmall importance, mightily raiſed the reputation of the royaliſts, and acquired to prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities which he eminently diſplayed during the whole courſe of the war.

The king, on muſtering his army, found it amount to 10,000 men. The earl of Lindeſey, who in his youth had ſought experience of military ſervice in the Low Countries, was general: prince Rupert commanded the horſe: ſir Jacob Aſtley, the foot: ſir Arthur Aſton, the dragoons: ſir John Heydon, the artillery. Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards. The eſtates and revenue

revenue of this ſingle troop, according to lord Clarendon's computation, were at leaſt equal to thoſe of all the members who, at the commencement of war, voted in both houſes. Their ſervants, under the command of ſir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their maſters.

With this army the king left Shrewſbury, determined to bring on a battle as ſoon as poſſible. At Banbury he received the intelligence that the earl of Eſſex was encamped at Keinton, only a few miles diſtant. Though the day was far advanced, Charles reſolved on an engagement. It was fought with various ſucceſs: the cavalry, and right wing of the parliament army were defeated; but the day was retrieved by ſir William Balfour who commanded Eſſex's reſerve: he fell upon the royaliſts diſperſed in plundering. Lindeſey, the general, was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner; ſir Edmund Verney, who carried the king's ſtandard, was killed. Both armies gradually recovered their ranks; but neither of them retained courage for a new attack. Eſſex firſt drew off, and retired to Warwic; and the king returned to his former quarters; whence he continued his march to Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion.

After the royal army was recruited and refreſhed, as the weather ſtill continued favourable, it was again put in motion. A party of horſe approached to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the parliament. Both governor and garriſon were ſeized with a panic, and fled with precipitation to London. The king, hoping that every thing would yield before him, advanced with his whole army to Reading. The parliament, who, inſtead of their fond expectations, that Charles would never be able to collect an army, had now the proſpect of a civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event, were arther alarmed at the near approach of the royal

army, while their own forces lay at a diſtance. They voted an addreſs for a treaty. The king's nearer approach to Colebroke quickened their advances for peace. Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, preſented the addreſs of both houſes; in which they beſought his majeſty to appoint ſome convenient place where he might reſide, till committees could attend him with propoſals. The king named Windſor, and deſired that their garriſon might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that caſtle.

Meanwhile Eſſex, advancing by haſty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the preſence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked, at Brentford, two regiments quartered there, and after a ſharp action beat them from that village, and took about 500 priſoners. The parliament had ſent orders to forbear all hoſtilities, and had expected the ſame from the king; though no ſtipulations to that purpoſe had been mentioned by their commiſſioners. Loud complaints were raiſed againſt this attack, as if it had been the moſt apparent perfidy, and breach of treaty. Inflamed with reſentment, as well as anxious for its own ſafety, the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Eſſex. The parliamentary army now amounted to above 24,000 men, and was much ſuperior to that of the king. After both armies had faced each other for ſome time, Charles drew off and retired to Reading, thence to Oxford.

It was on contributions and loans that Charles depended for the maintenance of his army; but the parliament had much greater reſources. Beſides an impoſition levied in London, amounting to the five-and-twentieth part of every one's ſubſtance, they eſtabliſhed on that city a weekly aſſeſſment of 10,000 pounds, and another of 23,518, on the reſt of the kingdom.

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The conferences between the king and parliament had not been accompanied by a ceſſation of hoſtilities; and it ſoon appeared that there was no likelihood of coming to an agreement. A.D. 1643. The earl of Eſſex with 18000 men was ordered to lay ſiege to Reading, a place of conſiderable ſtrength. Sir Arthur Aſton, the governor, being wounded, colonel Fielding ſucceeded to the command. In a little time the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence; and though the king approached, with an intention of obliging Eſſex to raiſe the ſiege, the diſpoſition of the parliamentary army was ſo ſtrong, as rendered the deſign impracticable. Fielding, therefore, was contented to yield the town, on condition that he ſhould bring off all the garriſon with the honours of war, and deliver up deſerters. This laſt article was thought ſo ignominious and ſo prejudicial to the king's intereſts, that the governor was tried by a council of war, and condemned to loſe his life, for conſenting to it. His ſentence was afterwards remitted by the king.

In the north, lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, the earl of Newcaſtle for the king. The latter nobleman began thoſe aſſociations which were afterwards ſo much practiſed in other parts of the kingdom. He united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and the Biſhopric, and engaged, ſome time after, other counties in the ſame aſſociation. Finding that Fairfax, aſſiſted by Hotham and the garriſon of Hull, was making progreſs in the ſouthern parts of Yorkſhire; he advanced with a body of four thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of York. At Tadcaſter, he attacked the forces of the parliament, and diſlodged them: but his victory was not deciſive. In other rencounters he obtained ſome inconſiderable advantages. But the chief benefit which reſulted from his enterpriſes was the

the eſtabliſhing of the king's authority in all the northern provinces.

It was about this time that ſir William Waller began to diſtinguiſh himſelf among the generals of the parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterpriſing, he was fitted by his genius to the nature of the war. After taking of Wincheſter and Chicheſter, he defeated lord Herbert, who with a conſiderable body of Welch troops, had laid ſiege to Glouceſter.

But the moſt remarkable actions of valour were performed in the weſt. In Cornwall, ſir Bevil Granville, the moſt beloved man of that county, ſir Ralph Hopton, ſir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, raiſed, at their charge, an army for the king. They ſucceſſively defeated at Bradoc Down and Stratton the parliamentary generals Ruthven and lord Stamford. In the laſt action their numbers were doubled by thoſe of their enemies, who were encamped on a high hill; yet the royaliſts determined on an attack in four diviſions. They preſſed forward amidſt an obſtinate reſiſtance: the intelligence that was brought to their leaders, that their ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four barrels of powder, did not damp their courage: they continued to aſcend without firing; the courage of the officers was ſeconded by the ſoldiers; and after a bloody ſtruggle they gained the ſummit, where they ſignaliſed their victory with loud ſhouts and mutual congratulations.

The attention of both king and parliament was turned towards the weſt. The marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice joined the Corniſh army; while, on the other hand, Waller advanced with a conſiderable force to check their progreſs. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, the two armies met at Lanſdown, near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loſs on both ſides, but without any deciſive event. The gallant Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of ſome powder, was dangerouſly

gerouſly hurt. The royaliſts next attempted to march eaſtwards, and to join their forces to the king's at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and infeſted their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters; he ſo much ſurpaſſed the royaliſts in number, that they durſt no longer continue their march, or expoſe themſelves to the hazard of an action. It was reſolved, that Hertford and prince Maurice ſhould proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, ſhould haſten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was ſo confident of taking this body of infantry now abandoned by the horſe, that he wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that by the next poſt he would inform them of the number and quality of the priſoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his weſtern army was reduced, had prepared a conſiderable body of cavalry, which he immediately diſpatched to their ſuccour under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway Down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, and prevent his conjunction with the Corniſh infantry, was received with equal valour by the royaliſts. After a ſharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horſe, eſcaped to Briſtol. Wilmot, ſeizing the enemy's cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, drove them off the field, and routed and diſperſed the whole army.

This important victory ſtruck great diſmay into the parliament; which was increaſed by a ſkirmiſh ſoon after in which fell the celebrated Hambden.

Prince Rupert had fallen ſuddenly upon the diſperſed bodies of Eſſex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters.

ters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horſeback in order to purſue the prince, to recover the priſoners, and to repair the diſgrace which the army had ſuſtained. Among the reſt, Hambden, who had a regiment of infantry that lay at a diſtance, joined the horſe as a volunteer; and overtaking the royaliſts on Chalgrave Field, entered into the thickeſt of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off, and a great booty, together with two hundred priſoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what moſt pleaſed the royaliſts was, the expectation that ſome diſaſter had happened to Hampden, their capital and much-dreaded enemy. One of the priſoners taken in the action ſaid, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt: for he ſaw him, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, ride off the field before the action was finiſhed; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horſe's neck. Next day, the news arrived, that he was ſhot in the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Some days after, he died, in exquiſite pain, of his wound; nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been thrown into greater conſternation. The king himſelf ſo highly valued him, that, either from generoſity or policy, he intended to have ſent him his own ſurgeon to aſſiſt at his cure.

Many were the virtues and talents of this eminent perſonage; and his valour, during the war, had ſhone out with a luſtre equal to that of the other accompliſhments by which he had ever been diſtinguiſhed. Affability in converſation; temper, art, and eloquence in debate; penetration and diſcernment in counſel; induſtry, vigilance, and enterpriſe in action; all theſe praiſes are unanimouſly aſcribed to him by hiſtorians of the moſt oppoſite parties. His virtue too and integrity, in all the duties of private life, are allowed to have been beyond exception: we muſt only be cautious, notwith-

withſtanding his generous zeal for liberty, not haſtily to aſcribe to him the praiſes of a good citizen. Through all the horrors of civil war, he ſought the abolition of monarchy, and ſubverſion of the conſtitution; an end which, had it been attainable by peaceful meaſures, ought carefully to have been avoided by every lover of his country. But whether, in the purſuit of this violent enterpriſe, he was actuated by private ambition, or by honeſt prejudices, derived from the former exorbitant powers of royalty, it belongs not to an hiſtorian of this age, ſcarcely even to an intimate friend, poſitively to determine.

Eſſex diſcouraged by this event returned towards London; while the royal army moved weſtward, and laid ſiege to Briſtol: they carried the ſuburbs, though with conſiderable loſs; and the city itſelf ſoon after ſurrendered. This acquiſition was of the greateſt importance; and ſuch was the general alarm ſpread, that ſeveral of the royaliſts propoſed to march to the capital. This deſign was laid aſide on account of the force of the militia: and after detaching prince Maurice into Devonſhire, the king determined to lay ſiege to Gloceſter, a reſolution which has ever been eſteemed moſt fatal to the royal party.

The governor of Gloceſter was one Maſſey, a ſoldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the parliament, had offered his ſervice to the king; and as he was free from the fumes of enthuſiaſm, by which moſt of the officers on that ſide were intoxicated, he would lend an ear, it was preſumed, to propoſals for accommodation: but Maſſey was reſolute to preſerve an entire fidelity to his maſters; and though no enthuſiaſt himſelf, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit ſo prevalent in his city and garriſon. The ſummons to ſurrender allowed two hours for an anſwer; but before that time expired, there appeared before the king two citizens, with lean, pale, ſharp, and diſmal viſages: faces, ſo ſtrange and uncouth, according

cording to lord Clarendon, figures, ſo habited and accoutred, as at once moved the moſt ſevere countenance to mirth, and the moſt cheerful heart to ſadneſs: it ſeemed impoſſible, that ſuch meſſengers could bring leſs than a defiance. The men, without any circumſtance of duty or good manners, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmayed accent, ſaid, that they brought an anſwer from the godly city of Gloceſter. That anſwer expreſſed their determination to keep the city for the parliament: the ſiege was immediately commenced; and both parties, conſcious how much depended on the event, diſplayed the greateſt vigour and obſtinacy.

In the beginning of the ſummer, a combination had been formed by Edmund Waller, a member of the lower houſe, and the firſt refiner of Engliſh verſification, to oblige the parliament to accept of reaſonable conditions, and to reſtore peace to the nation. For the execution of this project he depended on his influence in the city. But the deſign had been betrayed to Pym: two of his aſſociates had been condemned and hanged; he himſelf had been ſentenced to the ſame fate; but his diſſimulation intereſted the puritanical preachers in his welfare; he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence; and was permitted to redeem his life by a fine of ten thouſand pounds. The diſcovery of the conſpiracy ſtrengthened however the hands of the republican party. The ſeverity they exerciſed in puniſhing rendered them terrible to their enemies. Some thoughts of pacification which had been entertained, were again baniſhed; every preparation for war was reſumed: the relief of Gloceſter was the immediate object of the popular chiefs. Though Maſſey had diſputed every inch of ground, his garriſon was reduced to extreme neceſſity from the want of proviſions and ammunition. The parliament voted, that an army ſhould be levied under ſir William Waller, whom, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary

dinary careſſes. Having aſſociated in their cauſe the counties of Hertford, Eſſex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, they gave the earl of Mancheſter a commiſſion to be general of the aſſociation, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But, above all, they were intent that Eſſex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, ſhould be put in a condition of marching againſt the king. They excited afreſh their preachers to furious declamations againſt the royal cauſe. They even employed the expedient of preſſing, though aboliſhed by a late law, for which they had ſtrenuouſly contended. And they engaged the city to ſend four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloceſter. All ſhops, meanwhile, were ordered to be ſhut; and every man expected, with the utmoſt anxiety, the event of that important enterpriſe.

Eſſex marched towards Gloceſter with a well-appointed army of 14,000 men: at his appearance the king was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when the garriſon had only one barrel of powder left, and proviſions were equally ſcarce with ammunition. But though Eſſex had relieved Gloceſter, another difficulty remained: he had his retreat to accompliſh in face of an army much ſuperior to himſelf in cavalry. When he reached Newbury, he found the king poſted in his front; and as an action was unavoidable, he prepared for it with great preſence of mind. Though his horſe was ſeveral times broken, his infantry maintained themſelves in firm array. The militia of London, on this occaſion, equalled what could be expected from veteran forces: night put an end to the engagement, and left the victory undecided. Eſſex proceeded on his march to London; and the king, who cloſely followed him, obtained no other advantage than the re-capture of Reading.

This acquiſition was more than balanced by the death of Lucius Cary, viſcount Falkland, who had fallen

fallen in the battle of Newbury. This nobleman had early devoted himſelf to the purſuits of learning, and the ſociety of the elegant and polite; when called into public life, his maſculine eloquence was diſplayed in all attacks on the high prerogative of the crown: when civil convulſions proceeded to extremities, he tempered the ardour of his zeal, and embraced the defence of thoſe limited powers which remained to monarchy: he ſeems ſtill however to have dreaded the too proſperous ſucceſs of his own party as much as of the enemy; and, among his intimate friends, often, after a deep ſilence and frequent ſighs, he would, with a ſad accent, reiterate the word *Peace*. In excuſe for the too free expoſing of his perſon, which ſeemed unſuitable in a ſecretary of ſtate, he alledged, that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterpriſes, leſt his impatience for peace might bear the imputation of cowardice or puſillanimity. From the commencement of the war, his natural cheerfulneſs and vivacity became clouded; and even his uſual attention to dreſs, required by his birth and ſtation, gave way to a negligence which was eaſily obſervable. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had ſhown ſome care of adorning his perſon; and gave for a reaſon, that the enemy ſhould not find his body in any ſlovenly, indecent ſituation. "I am weary," ſubjoined he, "of the "times, and foreſee much miſery to my country; "but believe, that I ſhall be out of it ere night!" This excellent perſon was but thirty-four years of age when a period was thus put to his life.

The loſs ſuſtained on both ſides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced ſeaſon, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the north, during this ſummer, the great intereſt and popularity of the earl, now created marquis of Newcaſtle, had raiſed a conſiderable force for the king; and great hopes of ſucceſs were entertained from that quarter. There appeared, however,

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in oppoſition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. Theſe were ſir Thomas Fairfax, ſon of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwel. The former gained a conſiderable advantage at Wakefield over a detachment of royaliſts, and took general Goring priſoner: the latter obtained a victory at Gainſborow over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendiſh, who periſhed in the action. But both theſe defeats of the royaliſts were more than ſufficiently compenſated by the total rout of lord Fairfax at Atherton moor, and the diſperſion of his army. After this victory, Newcaſtle, with an army of 15,000 men, ſat down before Hull. Hotham was no longer governor of this place. That gentleman and his ſon, partly from a jealouſy entertained of lord Fairfax, partly repenting of their engagements againſt the king, had entered into a correſpondence with Newcaſtle, and had expreſſed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands. But their conſpiracy being detected, they were arreſted and ſent priſoners to London; where, without any regard to their former ſervices, they fell, both of them, victims to the ſeverity of the parliament.

Newcaſtle, having carried on the attack of Hull for ſome time, was beat off by a ſally of the garriſon, and ſuffered ſo much, that he thought proper to raiſe the ſiege. About the ſame time, Mancheſter, who advanced from the eaſtern aſſociated counties, having joined Cromwel and young Fairfax, obtained a conſiderable victory over the royaliſts at Horncaſtle; where the two officers laſt mentioned gained renown by their conduct and gallantry. And though fortune had thus balanced her favours, the king's party ſtill remained much ſuperior in thoſe parts of England; and had it not been for the garriſon of Hull, which kept Yorkſhire in awe, a conjunction of the northern forces with the army in the ſouth might have been made,

and had probably enabled the king, inſtead of entering on the unfortunate, perhaps imprudent, enterpriſe of Gloceſter, to march directly to London, and put an end to the war.

As the event became more doubtful, both parties ſought aſſiſtance from the neighbouring kingdoms: the parliament had recourſe to Scotland; the king to Ireland.

The Engliſh parliament, to allure the Scottiſh covenanters, had early declared their wiſhes for eccleſiaſtical reformation; nor could the Scots be ignorant that, ſhould the king prevail by force of arms over the parliament, that he would retract all thoſe conceſſions which they themſelves had extorted from him with ſo much violence. They had early in the ſpring, by their commiſſioners, preſſed him to recommend the Scottiſh model of eccleſiaſtic worſhip: Charles not only evaded this propoſal; but abſolutely refuſed at that critical period to ſummon a Scottiſh parliament. Diſappointed in this application, the leaders of the preſbyterian party ſummoned, in the king's name, but by their own authority, a convention; an aſſembly which, though it meets with leſs ſolemnity, has the ſame authority as a parliament in raiſing money and forces.

The Engliſh parliament was, at that time, fallen into great diſtreſs by the progreſs of the royal arms; and they gladly ſent to Edinburgh commiſſioners, with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottiſh nation. The perſons employed were the earl of Rutland, ſir William Armyne, ſir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley, attended by Marſhal and Nye, two clergymen of ſignal authority. In this negociation, the man chiefly truſted was Vane, who, in eloquence, addreſs, capacity, as well as in art and diſſimulation, was not ſurpaſſed by any one, even during that age, ſo famous for active talents. By his perſuaſion was framed at Edinburgh, that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which effaced all

former proteſtations and vows taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the ſubſcribers, beſides engaging mutually to defend each other againſt all opponents, bound themſelves to endeavour, without reſpect of perſons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to diſcover and bring to juſtice all incendiaries and malignants.

The ſubſcribers of the covenant vowed to preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland; but by the artifice of Vane no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that theſe kingdoms ſhould be reformed according to the word of God, and the example of the pureſt churches.

Religious zeal, the hopes of warm quarters, and the preſent of a hundred thouſand pounds, put the Scots immediately in motion; and by the end of the year, 20,000 men under their old general the earl of Leven were ready to enter England.

The king, foreſeeing this tempeſt which was gathering upon him, caſt his eye towards Ireland. In that kingdom the Engliſh, though neglected by the mother-country, had reſumed in ſome meaſure their aſcendancy over the natives: Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilruſh and Roſs; but his army was deſtitute of ammunition and clothing; for want of food the ſoldiers had been obliged to eat their own horſes. The parliament was unwilling to ſend ſupplies to troops, which though engaged in a cauſe much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies. The king, as he had neither money, arms, nor ammunition to ſpare from his own wants, reſolved to embrace an expedient which might at once relieve the neceſſities of the Iriſh proteſtants, and contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. He gave orders to Ormond and the juſtices to conclude for

a year a ceſſation of arms with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Iriſh were governed, and to leave both ſides in poſſeſſion of their preſent advantages. After this ceſſation there was little neceſſity and no means of ſubſiſting the army in Ireland; and Ormond, at the deſire of Charles, to whom he was firmly attached, ſent over conſiderable bodies of it to England.

A. D. 1644. The ſucceſſes which the king had hitherto obtained are to be aſcribed to the ſuperior valour of the gentry and nobility: in proportion as the whole nation became warlike, this quality was more equally ſhared; the ſeverity of manners affected by the puritans confirmed their military diſcipline. Citizens and country-gentlemen ſoon became excellent officers; and the generals of greateſt fame and capacity happened, all of them to ſpring up on the ſide of the parliament. The courtiers and great nobility, in the other party, checked the growth of any extraordinary genius among the ſubordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular eſtabliſhed government, was confined to the ſtation in which his birth had placed him.

The king, to preſerve the appearance of a parliament had ſummoned to Oxford the members who adhered to his intereſts. The peers who attended him doubled in number thoſe at Weſtminſter; but the commons amounted ſcarce to half of thoſe who had eſpouſed the popular ſide.

The name of exciſe was at this period firſt introduced in England. The parliament at Weſtminſter having voted an exciſe on beer, wine, and other commodities; thoſe at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And, in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the ſum of 100,000 pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the ſubject. The king circulated privy ſeals, counter ſigned by the ſpeakers of both houſes, requiring the loan of par-

ticular ſums from ſuch perſons as lived within his quarters. Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagoniſts with theſe illegal meaſures.

The Weſtminſter parliament paſſed a whimſical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week; and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe. It is eaſily imagined, that, provided the money were paid, they troubled themſelves but little about the execution of their ordinance.

It was this winter that the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by one party, as reſpected by the other. At London he was conſidered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by inceſſant labours for the intereſts of his country: at Oxford he was believed to have been ſtruck with an uncommon diſeaſe, and to have been conſumed with vermin, as a mark of divine vengeance for his multiplied crimes and treaſons. He had been ſo little ſtudious of improving his private fortune in thoſe civil wars, of which he had been one principal author, that the parliament thought themſelves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted.

Some ineffectual attempts at negociation had not ſuſpended the operations of the hoſtile armies during the winter. The troops which had been brought over from Ireland were commanded by lord Biron; after obtaining ſome advantages in Cheſhire, while engaged in the ſiege of Nantwich, they were ſurpriſed and defeated by ſir Thomas Fairfax. As Durham the marquis of Newcaſtle faced the Scots who had been repulſed from the walls of Newcaſtle; but while that nobleman was ſucceſsfully occupied in ſtraitening the quarters of this new enemy, he was alarmed by the approach of ſir Thomas Fairfax, who on his return from Cheſhire, had defeated a conſiderable body of the royaliſts near Selby. Afraid

of being incloſed between two armies, Newcaſtle retired to York, where he was blockaded by the joint forces of Leven and Fairfax.

The ſucceſs of prince Rupert in relieving Newark, was balanced by the defeat of Hopetoun by Waller at Cherington; and by the formidable preparations of the parliament. In the eaſtern aſſociation they levied 14,000 men under the earl of Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwel; and an army of 10,000 men under Eſſex, and another of nearly the ſame force under Waller were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of London. And ſuch were the apprehenſions juſtly entertained by the court that the queen thought it prudent to retire from Oxford to Exeter, where in caſe of danger ſhe could eaſily eſcape into France.

The earl of Mancheſter having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York, though defended vigorouſly by Newcaſtle, was reduced to the laſt extremity; when the beſiegers received the unwelcome intelligence, that prince Rupert, having joined Newcaſtle's horſe, was rapidly advancing at the head of twenty thouſand men. The Scottiſh and parliamentary leaders drew up on Marſton Moor to give battle to the royaliſts: but Rupert entered the town by another quarter, and ſafely joined his forces to thoſe of Newcaſtle: the marquis would have perſuaded him to have been content with his preſent advantages, and to leave the enemy to diſſolve by thoſe mutual diſſenſions which had begun to take place between them. But this temperate counſel ill ſuited the ardour of the prince; who, without deigning to conſult Newcaſtle, led out the troops on Marſton Moor. The action was obſtinately diſputed; Rupert, who commanded the right wing, was oppoſed to Cromwel, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. After a ſhort combat, the

the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way; and ſuch of the infantry as ſtood next them were likewiſe borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or to periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained by their dead bodies, the ſame order in which they had at firſt been ranged. In the other wing, ſir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with ſome troops, broke through the royaliſts; and, tranſported by the ardour of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, engaged alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But after that tempeſt was paſt, Lucas, who commanded the royaliſts in this wing, reſtoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into diſorder, puſhed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to ſeize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwel, who was now returned from purſuit of the other wing. Both ſides were not a little ſurpriſed to find that they muſt again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged; and each army occupied the ground which had been poſſeſſed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This ſecond battle was equally furious and deſperate with the firſt: but after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the ſide of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army puſhed off the field of battle.

This event was in itſelf a mighty blow to the king; but proved more fatal in its conſequences. The marquis of Newcaſtle, whoſe inclinations were attached to the ſoft arts of peace, had only been engaged in military operations by a high ſenſe of honour, and by a perſonal regard to his maſter. When prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, reſolved on this battle, he took the field merely as a volunteer, and, except byhis perſonal courage, which ſhone

out with luſtre, he had no ſhare in the action: enraged to find all his ſucceſsful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, he reſolved to leave the kingdom; and during the enſuing years, till the reſtoration, he lived abroad in great neceſſity, and ſaw, with indifference, his opulent fortune ſequeſtered by thoſe who aſſumed the government of England.

Prince Rupert retired with the remains of his army into Lancaſhire: York ſurrendered to Fairfax; Newcaſtle was ſtormed by the Scots; and the earl of Mancheſter, with Cromwel, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly aſcribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eaſtern aſſociation, in order to recruit his army.

In the ſouth the king's affairs were conducted with greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created earl of Brentford, acted as general. The parliament ſoon completed their two armies commanded by Eſſex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many ſpeeches were made to the citizens by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to ſpare, on this important occaſion, either their purſes, their perſons, or their prayers; and, in general, it muſt be confeſſed, they were ſufficiently liberal in all theſe contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the king retired into that city, to lay ſiege to it, and by one enterpriſe put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garriſon in Oxford, paſſed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon, and had incloſed him on both ſides. He marched towards Worceſter; and Waller received orders from Eſſex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himſelf marched into the weſt in queſt of prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only ſeparated from it by the Severn,

Severn, when he received intelligence that the king was advanced to Bewdley, and had directed his courſe towards Shrewſbury. In order to prevent him, Waller preſently diſlodged, and haſtened by quick marches to that town; while the king, ſuddenly returning upon his own footſteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garriſon, now in his turn marched out in queſt of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge near Banbury; but the Charwell ran between them. Next day the king decamped, and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a conſiderable detachment to paſs the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royaliſts. He was repulſed, routed, and purſued with conſiderable loſs. Stunned and diſheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by deſertion; and the king thought he might ſafely leave it, and march weſtward againſt Eſſex. That general, having obliged prince Maurice to raiſe the ſiege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced ſtill in his conqueſts, and met with no equal oppoſition. The king followed him, and having reinforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army ſuperior to the enemy. Eſſex, retreating into Cornwal, informed the parliament of his danger, and deſired them to ſend an army, which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commiſſion to execute that ſervice; but came too late. Eſſex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Leſtithiel, deprived of all forage and proviſions, and ſeeing no proſpect of ſuccour was reduced to the laſt extremity. The king preſſed them on one ſide; prince Maurice on another; ſir Richard Granville on a third. Eſſex, Robarts, and ſome of the principal officers, eſcaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horſe paſſed the king's out-poſts, in a thick miſt, and got ſafely to the garriſon of his own party. The foot, under Skippon, were obliged to ſurrender their arms,

artillery,

artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were diſmiſſed. By this advantage, which was much boaſted of, the king, beſides the honour of the enterpriſe, obtained what he ſtood extremely in need of: the parliament, having preſerved the men, loſt what they could eaſily repair.

No ſooner did the intelligence reach London than the parliament voted thanks to Eſſex for his conduct; a proceeding no leſs politic than magnanimous. To oppoſe Charles they collected their forces under Mancheſter, Cromwel, and Waller. The two armies met a ſecond time at Newbury. Eſſex was detained from the field by illneſs, and Mancheſter commanded; the king's troops were overpowered by numbers; night only ſaved them from a total defeat, and enabled them to retire to Oxford. They left their artillery and baggage in Dennington-caſtle, which was immediately inveſted by Mancheſter; but Charles advancing to the relief of that place, Mancheſter raiſed the ſiege, though ſtrongly preſſed by Cromwell to give battle, and ſeize ſo favourable an opportunity of terminating the war.

The difference of opinion which had riſen among the parliamentary generals in the field was renewed in London. Cromwel was ſupported by the INDEPENDENTS, who at firſt had concealed themſelves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, but who now evidently appeared a diſtinct party. Theſe rejected all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and would admit of no interpoſition of the magiſtrate in religious concerns. They acknowledged only the impulſe of the ſpirit to whoſe inward and ſuperior ſpirit they reſigned themſelves. Their political ſyſtem kept pace with their religious; they aſpired to a total abolition of monarchy, and even of ariſtocracy, and projected in a republic an entire equality of rank and order. Their leaders were Vane, Cromwel, Fiennes, and Oliver St. John. But as the

the majority of the parliament and nation were attached to the Preſbyterian party, it was only by cunning and deceit at firſt, and by military violence afterwards, that the Independents could entertain any hopes of ſucceſs.

To gain the command of the army was their chief object; and they conducted this intrigue by methods which ſufficiently deſcribe the genius of the age. On the day ſubſequent to a ſolemn faſt, when the harangues of the preachers had inflamed the minds of the people to the higheſt pitch of fanaticiſm, ſir Henry Vane told the commons, that the reigning diviſions might be aſcribed to the members poſſeſſing all conſiderable commands in the army, and all lucrative offices in the civil adminſtration; that the extraordinary concurrence of the different pulpits in this complaint could only proceed from the operation of the Holy Ghoſt; that he accuſed himſelf as one who held a gainful office, that of treaſurer of the navy, but that he was ready to reſign it; as he was every other conſideration to the welfare of his country.

He was ſeconded by Cromwel, who commended the preachers for having dealt ſo openly with them; and added, till there was a perfect reformation nothing could poſſibly proſper which they undertook. It was in vain that this reaſoning was oppoſed by Whitelocke, and many of the preſbyterians; the independents proved triumphant; the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, which excluded the members of both houſes from all employments, was paſſed: Eſſex, Mancheſter, and others reſigned their commands. A penſion of 10,000 pounds a year was ſettled on Eſſex.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, a man of integrity, courage, and humanity, but of a narrow genius, except in war, was appointed general; and Cromwel, who ought to have been diſcarded with the reſt, was ſaved by that political craft for which he was ſo eminent. Fairfax repreſented A. D. 1645.

repreſented his advice ſo neceſſary to him that he obtained permiſſion for him to ſerve the enſuing campaign. The aſcendancy of Cromwel over his general was ſoon apparent, and the ſtrokes of his character became every day more plain. His extenſive capacity enabled him to form the moſt enlarged projects: his enterpriſing genius was not diſmayed by the boldeſt and moſt dangerous. Carried, by his natural temper to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy, he yet knew, when neceſſary, to employ the moſt profound diſſimulation, the moſt oblique and refined artifice, the ſemblance of the greateſt moderation and ſimplicity. A friend to juſtice, though his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, though he perpetually employed it as the inſtrument of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the proſpect of ſovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irreſiſtible to human nature. And by uſing well that authority which he had attained by fraud and violence, he has leſſened, if not overpowered, our deteſtation of his enormities, by our admiration of his ſucceſs and of his genius.

During this important tranſaction of the ſelf-denying ordinance, negociations for peace had been ineffectually reſumed; and commiſſioners on both ſides had even met at Uxbridge; but in the important articles of *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*, it was ſoon found impoſſible to come to any concluſion; ſince in the firſt inſtance the total abolition of epiſcopacy was required; and in the two laſt the parliament expected the whole power ſhould be veſted in their own hands. Even had theſe demands been granted, the parliamentary commiſſioners declared they were only to be conſidered as preliminaries of a treaty, which might lead to the diſcuſſion of other pretenſions.

A little before the commencement of this treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament which proved their

their determined reſolution to proceed in the moſt violent manner. Archbiſhop Laud, the moſt favourite miniſter of the king, after a long impriſonment, was accuſed of high treaſon in endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The ſame illegality of an accumulated crime, and a conſtructive evidence, which appeared in the caſe of Strafford, are conſpicuous through the whole courſe of this proſecution. After a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witneſſes, the commons found ſo little likelihood of obtaining a judicial ſentence againſt Laud, that they were obliged to have recourſe to their legiſlative authority, and to paſs an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithſtanding the low condition into which the houſe of peers was fallen, there appeared ſome intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguiſh, by threats of new tumults, the ſmall remains of liberty poſſeſſed by the upper-houſe. Seven peers alone voted in this important queſtion. The reſt, either from ſhame or fear, took care to abſent themſelves.

Laud, who had behaved during his trial with ſpirit and vigour of genius, ſunk not under the horrors of his execution; but though he had uſually profeſſed himſelf apprehenſive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be diſſipated before that ſuperior courage by which he was animated. "No one," ſaid he, "can be more willing to ſend me out of life, than I "am deſirous to go." Even upon the ſcaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was haraſſed and moleſted by ſir John Clotworthy, a zealot of the reigning ſect, and a great leader in the lower houſe: this was the time he choſe for examining the principles of the dying primate, and trepanning him into a confeſſion, that he truſted for his ſalvation to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer. Having extricated himſelf from theſe theological

theological toils, the archbiſhop laid his head on the block; and it was ſevered from the body at one blow. Thoſe religious opinions, for which he ſuffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and conſtancy of his end. Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however miſguided, actuated by pious motives in all his purſuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of ſuch ſpirit, who conducted his enterpriſes with ſo much warmth and induſtry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happineſs of ſociety.

While the king's affairs declined in England, ſome events happened in Scotland which ſeemed to promiſe him a more proſperous iſſue of the quarrel.

Before the commencement of theſe civil diſorders, the earl of Montroſe, a young nobleman of a diſtinguiſhed family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made an offer of his ſervices; but by the inſinuations of the marquis, afterwards duke of Hamilton, who poſſeſſed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that diſtinction to which he thought himſelf juſtly entitled. Diſguſted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and, agreeably to the natural ardour of his genius, he had employed himſelf, during the firſt Scottiſh inſurrection, with great zeal, as well as ſucceſs, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commiſſioned by the *Tables* to wait upon the king, while the royal army lay at Berwic, he was ſo gained by the civilities and careſſes of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himſelf entirely, though ſecretly, to his ſervice, and entered into a cloſe correſpondence with him; and endeavoured to draw thoſe of like ſentiments into a bond of aſſociation for his maſter's ſervice.

There was in Scotland another party who profeſſed equal attachment to the king, though they differed about the means of attaining the ſame end; and

and of that party duke Hamilton was the leader. As much as the bold and vivid ſpirit of Montroſe prompted him to enterpriſing meaſures, ſo much the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to ſuch as were dilatory. The ſubtilities of his conduct has even ſubjected him to the imputation of treachery to his ſovereign; it was by his advice the covenanters were allowed to proceed without interruption in all their hoſtile projects. But the repreſentations and invectives of Montroſe at length prevailed; Hamilton was ſent priſoner by Charles to Pendennis caſtle, and the daring deſigns of Montroſe received the approbation of the king.

That nobleman, not diſcouraged with the defeat of Marſton Moor, which rendered it impoſſible for him to draw any ſuccour from England, only ſtipulated with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for ſome ſupply of men from that country; and no ſooner were the Iriſh landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montroſe declared himſelf, and entered upon that ſcene of action which has rendered his name ſo celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his ſtandard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were perſuaded to embrace the royal cauſe: and with this combined force, he haſtened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of ſix thouſand men, aſſembled upon the firſt news of the Iriſh invaſion. Montroſe, inferior in number, totally unprovided with horſe, ill ſupplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he himſelf, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterpriſes, ſhould inſpire into his raw ſoldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was anſwered chiefly by a volley of ſtones, he ruſhed amidſt them with his ſword drawn, threw them into confuſion, puſhed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the ſlaughter of two thouſand of the covenanters.

Though

Though the majority of the kingdom was attached to the covenant, the enterpriſes of Montroſe were crowned by the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. The celerity of his marches eluded the vigilance of his enemies; and, when they leaſt expected, the rage of war was let looſe upon them. At Aberdeen he defeated lord Burley, who commanded a force of two thouſand five hundred covenanters; he ravaged the county of Argyle; and at Innerlochy he drove from the field that nobleman, and broke, with great ſlaughter the power of the Campbells. The army of Seaforth diſperſed at the very terror of his name; yet ſuch was his ſituation that very good or very ill fortune was equally deſtructive to him, and diminiſhed his army. After every victory, his ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, but deeming the ſmalleſt acquiſition to be unexhauſted riches, deſerted in great numbers, and went home to ſecure the treaſures which they had acquired. Tired too, and ſpent with haſty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through ſnowy mountains, unprovided with every neceſſary, they fell off, and left their general almoſt alone with the Iriſh, who having no place to which they could retire, ſtill adhered to him in every fortune.

While Montroſe lay at Alderne with two thouſand royaliſts, he was attacked by double the number of covenanters, commanded by Urrey. Montroſe having placed his right wing in ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by ſhowing a few men through the trees and buſhes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his left wing to the charge; and, making a furious impreſſion upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory.

Baillie, a general whom the council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montroſe's progreſs, had ſent for from England,

England, advanced in order to revenge Urrey's diſcomfiture, but at Alford he met himſelf with the like fate, and Montroſe having prevailed in ſo many battles, ſummoned together all his friends and partiſans, and prepared himſelf for marching into the ſouthern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and diſſipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and ſolemnity, they had ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone's.

While the fire was thus kindled in the north of the iſland, it blazed out with no leſs fury in the ſouth. The royal and parliamentary forces, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would admit, took the field. The latter had been modelled by Fairfax, or more properly ſpeaking, Cromwel; and ſurely a more ſingular army was never aſſembled. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed; the officers aſſumed the ſpiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themſelves in ſermons, prayers, exhortations; and the ſame emulation there attended them, which, in the field, is ſo neceſſary to ſupport the honour of that profeſſion. Rapturous ecſtacies ſupplied the place of ſtudy and reflection; and while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they miſtook that eloquence, which, to their own ſurpriſe, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illapſes of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the miniſter from his pulpit; and, uſurping his place, conveyed their ſentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits, united to their apparent zeal and fervour. The private ſoldiers, ſeized with the ſame ſpirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the Holy Scriptures, in ghoſtly conferences, where they compared the progreſs of their ſouls in grace, and mutually ſtimulated each other to farther ad-

vances in the great work of their ſalvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field reſounded, as well with pſalms and ſpiritual ſongs adapted to the occaſion, as with the inſtruments of military muſic; and every man endeavoured to drown the ſenſe of preſent danger in the proſpect of that crown of glory which was ſet before him. In ſo holy a cauſe, wounds were eſteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, inſtead of baniſhing their pious viſions, rather ſerved to impreſs their minds more ſtrongly with them.

The royaliſts, who treated this fanaticiſm with ridicule, were ſoon taught to feel the conſequences of it; while the licence in which they had indulged their ſoldiers had rendered them odious to the common people. The king, with an army of 15000 men, had advanced from Oxford to relieve Cheſter, which was beſieged by the parliamentary forces, who at his approach raiſed the ſiege; and in his return he ſtormed and ſacked the city of Leiceſter. But he had ſcarce atchieved this enterpriſe before he was informed, that Fairfax and Cromwel, with their new-modelled army, were advancing to give him battle. In the council of war, which Charles called, he was adviſed to avoid action, until Gerard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, and Goring, who with near 12000 was occupied in the ſiege of Taunton, could join him: but he was puſhed on to battle by the boiling ardour of prince Rupert, who excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry to hazard all on a general engagement.

At Naſeby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this deciſive and well-diſputed action between the king and parliament. The main body of the royaliſts was commanded by the king himſelf: the right wing by prince Rupert; the left by ſir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, ſeconded by Skippon, placed himſelf in the main body of the oppoſite army:

army: Cromwel in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwel's ſon in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his uſual celerity and uſual ſucceſs, by prince Rupert. Though Ireton made ſtout reſiſtance, and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, ſtill maintained the combat, till he was taken priſoner, yet was that whole wing broken, and purſued with precipitate fury by Rupert: he was even ſo inconſiderate as to loſe time in ſummoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The king led on his main body, and diſplayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a ſtout ſoldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well ſupported that reputation which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerouſly wounded, was deſired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground. The infantry of the parliament was broken, and preſſed upon by the king; till Fairfax, with great preſence of mind, brought up the reſerve, and renewed the combat. Meanwhile Cromwel, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royaliſts, and by his prudence improved that advantage which he had gained by his valour. Having purſued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached ſome troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. One regiment alone preſerved its order unbroken, though twice deſperately aſſailed by Fairfax: and that general, excited by ſo ſteady a reſiſtance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himſelf attacked them in rear. The regiment was broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an enſign, and, having ſeized the colours, gave them to a ſoldier to keep for him. The ſoldier afterwards boaſting that he had won this trophy, was reproved

by Doyley, who had ſeen the action; "*Let him re-*
"*tain that honour,*" ſaid Fairfax, "*I have to-day*
"*acquired enough beſide.*"

Prince Rupert, ſenſible too late of his error, left the fruitleſs attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whoſe infantry was now totally diſcomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to deſpair, and cried aloud to them, "*One charge*
"*more, and we recover the day!*" But the diſadvantages under which they laboured were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The ſlain, on the ſide of the parliament, exceeded thoſe on the ſide of the king: they loſt 1000 men; he not above 800. But Fairfax made 500 officers priſoners, and 4000 private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition; and totally diſſipated his infantry: ſo that ſcarce any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained.

Among the ſpoils was ſeized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen: theſe were publiſhed by the parliament; and are written with ſuch delicacy and tenderneſs as give an advantageous idea both of the king's morals and genius.

After the battle of Naſeby, Charles retired with the body of horſe, which remained entire, into Wales; and Fairfax marched into the weſt to ſave Taunton, and ſuppreſs the only conſiderable force which now remained to the royaliſts. On his approach the ſiege of Taunton was raiſed; and the royaliſts retreated to Lamport, an open town of Somerſetſhire, where they were attacked and defeated by Fairfax, who, after taking Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborn, laid ſiege to Briſtol.

Prince Rupert had thrown himſelf into that important city; and from the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the reputation of the governor, an obſtinate reſiſtance was expected. But, ſo precarious in moſt men is this quality of military courage! a poorer

defence

defence was not made by any town during the whole war: and the general expectations were here extremely diſappointed. No ſooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by ſtorm, than the prince capitulated, and ſurrendered the city to Fairfax. A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to ſurrender it. Charles, who was forming ſchemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Briſtol, was aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an event, which was little leſs fatal to his cauſe than the defeat at Naſeby. Full of indignation, he inſtantly recalled all prince Rupert's commiſſions, and ſent him a paſs to go beyond ſea.

The king's affairs now went faſt to ruin in all quarters; he himſelf had ſuffered a defeat in attempting to raiſe the ſiege of Cheſter, and had eſcaped to Oxford, where he ſhut himſelf up, with the broken remains of his army. He there learnt of the defeat of Hopton at Torrington, and the complete ſubjection of the weſt by Fairfax and Cromwel. After the capture of Exeter, the prince of Wales, who had been ſent by Charles into that part of the kingdom, retired into France where he joined the queen his mother. And Charles's misfortunes were at length perfected, by the defeat of Montroſe, who after a ſeries of the moſt ſplendid actions, was ſurpriſed at Philip-haugh by the Scottiſh army, and, after a ſharp conflict, was forced to ſeek ſhelter in the mountains. A.D. 1646.

After all theſe repeated diſaſters, which everywhere befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exerciſe her rigour. Lord Aſtley, with a ſmall army of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated; himſelf being taken priſoner. "You have done your "work," ſaid Aſtley to the parliamentary officers; "and

" and may now go to play, unleſs you chuſe to fall " out among yourſelves."

The condition of the king during the whole winter was to the laſt degree diſaſtrous and melancholy. But his vigour of mind, which ſometimes failed him in acting, never deſerted him in his ſufferings. To the attempts that he had made to obtain an accommodation with the parliament, they only deigned to anſwer, that they were preparing bills for him, and and his paſſing them would be the beſt pledge of his inclination towards peace; in other words, he muſt yield at diſcretion. The only reſource that remained to him was derived from the inteſtine diſſenſions which ran very high among his enemies. The preſbyterians and independents, before their victory was fully completed, fell into conteſts about the diviſion of the ſpoil. The preſbyterians loudly exclaimed againſt the propenſity of the parliament towards a toleration of all proteſtant ſectaries. They exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Chriſt reſemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beaſts. They maintained the eternal obligation impoſed by the covenant to extirpate hereſy and ſchiſm. And they menaced all their opponents with the ſame rigid perſecution, under which they themſelves had groaned, when held in ſubjection by the hierarchy.

The king, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from theſe diviſions, was much at a loſs which ſide it would be moſt for his intereſt to comply with. The preſbyterians were, by their principles, the leaſt averſe to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: the independents were reſolute to lay the foundation of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themſelves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the king to epiſcopal

copal juriſdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in balance even with his own power and kingly office.

He had but a ſhort time for deciſion; Fairfax, with a powerful and victorious army, was approaching to lay ſiege to Oxford, which muſt infallibly fall into his hands. In this deſperate extremity he embraced a meaſure, which was ſuggeſted to him by Montreville, the French ambaſſador. That miniſter had ſolicited the Scottiſh generals and commiſſioners to give protection to their diſtreſſed ſovereign; and he had always tranſmitted their general profeſſions, perhaps, with ſome exaggeration to the king. Charles hoped that the Scots, who had been gratified in all their demands, had nothing more to exact; and that the ſight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of diſtreſs, would rouſe every ſpark of generoſity in their boſoms, and procure him their favour and protection; and impreſſed with this, his laſt reliance, he determined to quit Oxford for the Scottiſh army, which at that time lay before Newark.

That he might the better conceal his intentions, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three perſons to paſs; and in the night the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudſon and Mr. Aſhburnham, went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himſelf Aſhburnham's ſervant. He paſſed through Henley, St. Albans, and came ſo near to London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himſelf on the mercy of the parliament. But at laſt, after paſſing through many croſs roads, he arrived at the Scottiſh camp before Newark. The parliament, hearing of his eſcape from Oxford, iſſued rigorous orders, and threatened with inſtant death whoever ſhould harbour or conceal him.

The Scottiſh generals and commiſſioners affected great ſurpriſe on the appearance of the king: and

though they payed him all the exterior reſpect due to his dignity, they inſtantly ſet a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a priſoner. They informed the Engliſh parliament of this unexpected incident, and aſſured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king. They applied to him for orders to Bellaſis, governor of Newark, to ſurrender that town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were inſtantly obeyed. And hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire diſpoſal of the king's perſon, and that the Engliſh army was making ſome motions towards them, they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcaſtle.

This meaſure was very grateful to the king, and he began to entertain hopes of protection; but he ſoon diſcovered that he was not only a priſoner, but very ſtrictly guarded; that his friends were kept at a diſtance; that the Scottiſh generals would enter into no conference with him; and that every propoſal they made tended farther to his abaſement and ruin.

They required him to iſſue orders to Oxford, and all his other garriſons to ſurrender to the parliament; the king, ſenſible that reſiſtance was to little purpoſe, willingly complied. He even extended theſe orders to Ormond in Ireland, and Montroſe in Scotland. The laſt who laid down his arms was the marquis of Worceſter, a nobleman paſt eighty-four, who had defended Ragley-caſtle to the utmoſt extremity.

The parliament and the Scots laid their propoſals before the king. They were ſuch as a captive entirely at mercy, could expect from the moſt inexorable victor: yet were they little worſe than what were inſiſted on before the battle of Naſeby. The power of the ſword, inſtead of ten, which the king now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament ſhould think proper for the ſupport of

their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the ſame with thoſe which had formerly been offered to the king.

Charles ſaid, that propoſals, which introduced ſuch important innovations in the conſtitution, demanded time for deliberation: the commiſſioners replied, that he muſt give his anſwer in ten days. He deſired to reaſon about the meaning and import of ſome terms: they informed him that they had no power of debate; and peremptorily required his conſent or refuſal. He requeſted a perſonal treaty with the parliament: they threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, ſettle the nation.

What the parliament was moſt intent on, was their treaty with the Scots; two important points remained to be ſettled with that nation; their delivery of the king, and the payment of their arrears. For the latter they conſidered the perſon of Charles as a pledge; the ſum they claimed amounted to two millions; but as the contributions they had levied were to be deducted, after many diſcuſſions they agreed to accept 400,000l. one half to be paid inſtantly, another in two ſubſequent payments.

Great pains were taken by the Scots to make this eſtimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different tranſaction from that for the delivery of the king's perſon: but common ſenſe requires, that they ſhould be regarded as one and the ſame. The Engliſh, it is evident, had they not been previouſly aſſured of receiving the king, would never have parted with ſo conſiderable a ſum; and, while they weakened themſelves, by the ſame meaſure have ſtrengthened a people, with whom they muſt afterwards have ſo material an intereſt to diſcuſs.

The infamy of this bargain had ſuch an influence on the Scottiſh parliament, that they once voted, that the king ſhould be protected, and his liberty inſiſted on. But the general aſſembly interpoſed, and pronounced, that, as he had refuſed to take the covenant,

nant, which was preſſed on him, it became not the godly to concern themſelves about his fortunes. After this declaration it behoved the parliament to retract their vote.

Charles received the final reſolution of the Scottiſh nation to ſurrender him, while he was playing at Cheſs; and ſuch temper did he poſſeſs, that he continued the game without interruption. He admitted the commiſſioners, who came to take him into cuſtody, to kiſs his hand, and addreſſed them with cheerfulneſs. He was conveyed by them to Holdenby-caſtle, in the county of
A. D. 1647. Northumberland, where he was ſtrictly confined, his ancient ſervants diſmiſſed, and all communication with his friends or family prohibited.

During the time the king remained with the Scottiſh army died the earl of Eſſex, the diſcarded, but ſtill powerful and popular general of the parliament: he expired when his life would have been moſt ſerviceable; ſince, ſenſible of the exceſſes to which affairs had been carried, he had reſolved to conciliate a peace. By his death the preſbyterian, or moderate party among the commons, were conſiderably weakened; and the ſmall remains of authority which ſtill adhered to the peers were, in a manner, wholly extinguiſhed.

The dominion of the parliament which had been atchieved at the expence of ſo much blood was, however, of ſhort duration; their own ſervants ſoon roſe againſt them. In proportion as the terror of the king's power diminiſhed, the diviſion between independent and preſbyterian became more apparent. The latter maintained a majority among the commons, but the former predominated in the army. Under pretence of eaſing the public burden, the preſbyterians aimed at reducing the number of the troops; they propoſed to embark a ſtrong detachment for Ireland, and to diſband alſo a conſiderable part of the forces. But the army was far from

from being inclined to ſerve in Ireland, a country which was deemed barbarous and uncultivated; and they were ſtill leſs willing to be diſbanded, and to renounce what they propoſed to enjoy after ſo many dangers in eaſe and tranquillity. Moſt of the officers, having riſen from the dregs of the people, had no other proſpect, if deprived of their commiſſions, than that of returning to languiſh in their native poverty and obſcurity.

Theſe motives of intereſt acquired additional influence from the religious ſpirit by which the army was actuated. Theſe military ſaints, ſaid they were not mere janizaries, mercenary troops enliſted for hire, and to be diſpoſed of at the will of their paymaſters; but as religion and liberty had firſt excited them to arms, they had a right to thoſe bleſſings which they had purchaſed with their blood. Hearing of parties in the houſe of commons, and being informed that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally intereſted themſelves in that dangerous diſtinction, and were eager to give the ſuperiority to their partiſans. Whatever hardſhips they underwent, though perhaps derived from inevitable neceſſity, were aſcribed to a ſettled deſign of oppreſſing them, and reſented as an effect of the animoſity and malice of their adverſaries.

As there were great arrears due to the army the ſoldiers dreaded, after they ſhould be diſbanded or embarked for Ireland, that their enemies who predominated in the two houſes would entirely defraud them of their right. On this ground a petition, addreſſed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; craving an indemnity, and that ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the courſe of the war, the ſoldiers might have been guilty: together with ſatisfaction in arrears, freedom from preſſing, relief of widows and maimed ſoldiers, and pay till diſbanded. The commons, aware of what combuſtible materials the army was compoſed, were alarmed

alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its firſt appearance, muſt be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and muſt ſoon exalt the military above the civil authority. Beſides ſummoning ſome officers to anſwer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obſtruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of it, as enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of public peace.

This declaration had fatal effects; the ſoldiers lamented that they were deprived of the privileges of Engliſhmen; the majority both of the officers and the men refuſed to enter into the Iriſh ſervice; near 200 of the former ſigned an application to parliament, in which they aſſerted their right of petitioning; and not only diſcovered a knowledge of their own power, but a reſolution to exerciſe it. The expedient the parliament adopted to preſerve them in obedience was the worſt they could have recourſe to; they ſent Skippon, Cromwel, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron-Waldon in Eſſex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cauſe of its *diſtempers*. Theſe very generals, at leaſt the three laſt, were ſecretly the authors of all the diſcontents; and failed not to foment thoſe diſorders, which they pretended to appeaſe. By their ſuggeſtion, a meaſure was embraced, which, at once, brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable.

In oppoſition to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a military parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the houſe of peers; a more free repreſentative of the army was compoſed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company. By this means, both the general humour of that time was gratified, intent on plans

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of imaginary republics; and an eaſy method contrived for conducting underhand, and propagating, the ſedition of the army.

This court voted the offer of the parliament unſatisfactory; but before matters came to this height, Cromwel had poſted up to London on pretence of laying before the parliament the riſing diſcontents of the army. That aſſembly voted that all the troops which did not engage for Ireland ſhould inſtantly be diſbanded in their quarters; at the ſame time the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common intereſts; and while they prepared for oppoſition, they ſtruck a blow which decided the victory in their favour.

A party of five hundred horſe appeared at Holdenby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a taylor by profeſſion; but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being oppoſed by the guard, whoſe affections were all on their ſide, Joyce came into the king's preſence, armed with piſtols, and told him, that he muſt immediately go along with him. *Whither*, ſaid the king. *To the army*, replied Joyce. *By what warrant?* aſked the king. Joyce pointed to the ſoldiers, whom he brought along; tall, handſome, and well accoutred. *Your warrant*, ſaid Charles ſmiling, *is writ in fair characters, legible without ſpelling*. The parliamentary commiſſioners came into the room: They aſked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? he ſaid, *No:* from the general? *No:* by what authority he came?—he made the ſame reply as to the king: *They would write*, they ſaid, *to the parliament to know their pleaſure. You may do ſo*, replied Joyce; *but in the mean time the king muſt immediately go with me.* Reſiſtance was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was ſafely conducted to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous at Triplo-

Triplo-Heath, near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commiſſioners, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation.

Fairfax was ignorant of, and nobody avowed the orders of Joyce, which were verbal; when the arrival of Cromwel, who had directed this meaſure, developed the intrigue. On his appearance in the camp he was received with loud acclamations, and was inſtantly inveſted with the ſupreme command both of general and army. Fairfax had long given him his confidence; and the celerity with which he acted proved him equal to the bold enterprize he had concerted. He was conſcious that the parliament, though defenceleſs at preſent, had many reſources; and he therefore advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

The approach of ſo formidable an armed force reduced the parliament to deſpair; the militia of London were attached to them, and were immediately drawn out; but the other troops on whom they could depend were diſtant; and they deemed it moſt prudent to endeavour to ſtop the fury of their enemies by compliance. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled, and eraſed from the journal-book. This was the firſt ſymptom which the parliament gave of ſubmiſſion; and the army, hoping, by terror alone, to effect all their purpoſes, ſtopped at St. Albans, and entered into negociation with their maſters.

Here commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their uſurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model which the parliament itſelf had ſet them, in their recent uſurpations on the crown.

Every day they roſe in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, ſtill more enormous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be ſatisfied. At firſt they pretended only to petition for what concerned themſelves

ſelves as ſoldiers: Next, they muſt have a vindication of their character; then it was neceſſary, that their enemies be puniſhed: at laſt they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and ſettling the nation.

They preſerved, in words, all deference and reſpect to the parliament; but, in reality, inſulted them and tyranniſed over them. That aſſembly they pretended not to accuſe; it was only evil counſellors, who ſeduced and betrayed it.

They proceeded ſo far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treaſon, as enemies to the army, and evil counſellors to the parliament. Their names were, Hollis, ſir Philip Stapleton, ſir William Lewis, ſir John Clotworthy, ſir William Waller, ſir John Maynard, Maſſey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nicholas. Theſe were the very leaders of the preſbyterian party.

They inſiſted, that theſe members ſhould immediately be ſequeſtered from parliament, and be thrown into priſon. The commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed ſo far. The army obſerved to them, that the caſes of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpoſe. At laſt, the eleven members themſelves, not to give occaſion for diſcord, begged leave to retire from the houſe; and the army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this mark of ſubmiſſion.

Pretending that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confuſion, they required, that all new levies ſhould be ſtopped. The parliament complied with this demand.

There being no ſigns of reſiſtance, the army, in order to ſave appearances, removed, at the deſire of the parliament, to a greater diſtance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches.

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That prince now found himſelf in a better ſituation than at Holdenby. His friends had acceſs to his preſence; his children were allowed to viſit him; both Cromwel and the parliament paid court to him; and ſo confident was he that all parties, to put an end to the public diſorders, would have recourſe to his lawful authority, that he ſaid on ſeveral occaſions, *You cannot be without me, you cannot ſettle the nation but by my aſſiſtance.*

Though Charles expected to hold the balance between the oppoſite factions, he entertained moſt hopes of accommodation with the army. In the propoſals which the council of officers ſent for the ſettlement of the nation, they inſiſted neither on the abolition of epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the royaliſts. His conjunction too ſeemed more natural with generals, than with the repreſentatives of the people; ſince, in the former caſe, by gratifying a few perſons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and in an inſtant reinſtate himſelf in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland; to Cromwel the garter, with the title of earl of Eſſex, and the command of the army. The latter affected to liſten to theſe propoſals; and the king, who had no ſuſpicion that one born a private gentleman could entertain the daring ambition of ſeizing a ſceptre tranſmitted through a long line of monarchs, indulged hopes that he would, at laſt, embrace a meaſure which, by all the motives of duty, intereſt, and ſafety, ſeemed to be recommended to him.

While Cromwel allured the king by theſe expectations, he continued his ſcheme of reducing the parliament to ſubjection. To gratify the army, that aſſembly had inveſted Fairfax with the chief command in England and Ireland; they diſbanded the troops which, in obedience to them, had enliſted for Ireland; and they diſplaced the preſbyterian com-

commiſſioners to whom they had confided the militia of London.

By this compliance they hoped to temporiſe under their immediate difficulties; but the impatience of the city loſt them all the advantages of their cautious meaſures. A petition was preſented by the apprentices and the ſeditious multitude againſt the alteration of the militia; and the retracting of that vote was the ſignal to the army for action.

Under pretence of reſtoring the two houſes to liberty, the troops advanced to Hounſlow Heath, where a formidable body twenty thouſand ſtrong were drawn up, determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to purſue whatever meaſures their generals ſhould dictate to them. Here the moſt favourable event happened to quicken and encourage their advance. The ſpeakers of the two houſes, Mancheſter and Lenthal, attended by eight peers, and about ſixty commoners, having ſecretly retired from the city, preſented themſelves with their maces, and all the enſigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with ſhouts and acclamations: reſpect was paid to them as to the parliament of England: and the army being provided with ſo plauſible a pretence, which, in all public tranſactions, is of great conſequence, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and to reinſtate the violated parliament.

The parliament, forced from their temporiſing meaſures, prepared themſelves with vigour for defence; but the ſoldiers, on whom they depended, reſolved not to ſeparate their intereſts from thoſe of the army: the latter marched in triumph through the city: they conducted the two ſpeakers to Weſtminſter; and they annulled every deed of the commons from the day of the tumult till the return of the ſpeakers.

The independent party among the commons exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the

nation they imagined was now lodged in their hands; and they expected by the terror of the ſword to impoſe a perfect ſyſtem of liberty on the reluctant people. Of all the deluſions which any party cheriſhed this was the moſt contrary to common ſenſe; yet Vane, Fiennes, St. John, and Martin, the men in England the moſt celebrated for deep contrivances, nouriſhed this expectation; while an exorbitant paſſion for rule made them overlook the dangerous conſequences of meaſures that ſeemed to tend to their own advancement.

The leaders of the army having eſtabliſhed their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-court. Charles ſtill entertained hopes of an accommodation with the generals; though every thing in that particular daily bore a worſe aſpect. Many writers aſſert that Cromwel would have made a private bargain with the king, but that he found the horror and antipathy which the military fanatics had been taught to entertain againſt Charles an inſeparable obſtacle to it. The menaces thrown out by the agitators againſt the king had reached his ears; and he took a ſudden reſolution of withdrawing himſelf. Attended only by ſir John Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-court; and his eſcape was not diſcovered till near an hour after.

All night he travelled through the foreſt, and arrived early the next day at Tichfield. He could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: in the neighbourhood lay the Iſle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwel. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hampden, who, during his lifetime, had been an intimate friend of Cromwel's, and whoſe memory was ever reſpected by him. Theſe circumſtances were very unfavourable: yet, becauſe the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the

the army, it was thought proper to have recourſe to him, in the preſent exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Aſhburnham and Berkeley were diſpatched to the iſland. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place where the king was concealed, till they had firſt obtained a promiſe from him not to deliver up his majeſty, though the parliament and army ſhould require him; but to reſtore him to his liberty if he could not protect him. This promiſe, it is evident, would have been a very ſlender ſecurity: yet even without exacting it, Aſhburnham imprudently, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond to Tichfield; and the king was obliged to put himſelf in his hands, and to attend him to Cariſbroke-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, where, though received with great demonſtrations of reſpect and duty, he was in reality a priſoner.

Charles could not have taken a weaker ſtep; nor one more agreeable to Cromwel, and all his enemies. He was now removed from his partiſans; and Cromwel being entirely maſter of the parliament, and free from all anxiety with regard to the cuſtody of the king's perſon, applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell the diſorders of the army which he himſelf had ſo artfully raiſed. He iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay entire obedience to the parliament, whom, being now fully reduced to ſubjection, he purpoſed to make, for the future, the inſtruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for ſo that party in the army was called, having experienced the ſweets of dominion, would not ſo eaſily be deprived of it. They ſecretly continued their meetings: they aſſerted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or ſtate, needed reformation: ſeveral regiments joined in ſeditious remonſtrances and petitions; ſeparate rendezvouſes were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confuſion. But this diſtemper was ſoon cured by

the rough, but dextrous hand of Cromwel. He choſe the opportunity of a review, that he might diſplay the greater boldneſs, and ſpread the terror the wider. He ſeized the ringleaders before their companions: held in the field a council of war: ſhot one mutineer inſtantly: and ſtruck ſuch dread into the reſt, that they preſently threw down the ſymbols of ſedition, which they had diſplayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted diſcipline and obedience.

Cromwel had great deference for the counſels of Ireton; a man who had grafted the ſoldier on the lawyer, the ſtateſman on the ſaint; and who, naturally fierce, thought himſelf in the proſecution of his religious purpoſes, diſpenſed from all the ordinary rules of morality. From his ſuggeſtion, Cromwel called together at Windſor the chief officers, where was firſt opened the daring and unheard-of counſel of puniſhing by a judicial ſentence their ſovereign for mal-adminiſtration. They knew while Charles was in priſon, inſurrections never would be wanting in his favour. To murder him privately would be to expoſe themſelves to every odious epithet of *Aſſaſſin* and *Traitor*: but to puniſh him by a judicial ſentence would be ſtriking in with the fanatical notions of the equality of mankind, it would enſure the devoted obedience of the army, and ſerve as a general engagement againſt the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would ſo heinouſly affront and injure.

The parliament in their tranſactions with Charles payed no longer any regard to equity or reaſon. They ſent him four propoſals as preliminaries; and before they would deign to treat they demanded his poſitive aſſent to all of them. By one, he was required to inveſt the parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for exerciſing it: and even after the twenty years ſhould be elapſed, they reſerved a right of re-

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ſuming the ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to require it. By the ſecond, he was to recal all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament, and acknowledge that aſſembly to have taken arms in their juſt and neceſſary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great ſeal, ſince it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton; and, at the ſame time, renounce for the future the power of making peers without conſent of parliament. By the fourth, he gave the two houſes power to adjourn as they thought proper: a demand ſeemingly of no great importance; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places where it ſhould remain in perpetual ſubjection to the army.

The king regarded the pretenſion as exorbitant, that he ſhould make ſuch conceſſions while not ſecure of any ſettlement. The republican party pretended to take fire at this anſwer. Cromwel, after giving an ample character of the valour and godlineſs of the army, "Teach them not," added he, "by your "neglecting your own ſafety and that of the king- "dom (in which their's too is involved), to imagine "themſelves betrayed, and their intereſts abandoned "to the rage and malice of an irreconcileable enemy, "whom, for your ſake, they have dared to pro- "voke. Beware *(and at theſe words he laid his "hand on his ſword)*, beware, leſt deſpair cauſe "them to ſeek ſafety by ſome other means than by "adhering to you, who know not how to conſult "your own ſafety." Such arguments prevailed; though ninety-one members had ſtill the courage to oppoſe. It was voted, that no more addreſſes be made to the king, nor any letters or meſſages be received from him; and that it be treaſon for any one, without leave of the two houſes, to have any A. D. 1648.

intercourſe with him. The lords concurred in the ſame ordinance.

By this vote of non-addreſſes, the king was in reality dethroned; all his ſervants were immediately removed from him, and his correſpondence with his friends cut off: but the parliament and army enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which they had obtained with ſo much violence and injuſtice: Scotland, whence the king's cauſe had received the firſt fatal diſaſter, ſeemed now to promiſe its ſupport and aſſiſtance. The advance of the army to London, the ſubjection of the parliament, and the confinement of the king, were ſo many blows ſenſibly felt by that nation, as threatening the overthrow of preſbytery; the covenant was profanely called in the houſe of commons, an almanac out of date; by that covenant they ſtood engaged to defend the royal perſon; the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were ſent to London, proteſted againſt the four bills; as containing too great a dimunition of the king's civil power, and providing no ſecurity for religion. They complained that notwithſtanding this proteſtation, the bills were ſtill inſiſted on; contrary to the ſolemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the Engliſh commiſſioners to the iſle of Wight, they ſecretly formed a treaty with the king, for arming Scotland in his favour.

Three parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland: the *Royaliſts*, who inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the king's authority, without any regard to religious ſects or tenets: of theſe Montroſe, though abſent, was regarded as the head. The *Rigid Preſbyterians*, who hated the king, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who determined to give him no aſſiſtance till he ſhould ſubſcribe the covenant: theſe were governed by Argyle. The *Moderate Preſbyterians*, who endeavoured to reconcile the intereſts of religion and of the crown, and hoped,

hoped, by ſupporting the preſbyterian party in England, to ſuppreſs the ſectarian army, and to reinſtate the parliament, as well as the king, in their juſt freedom and authority: the two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric, were leaders of this party.

Hamilton, determined to remember ancient favours rather than recent injuries, had obtained a vote from the Scottiſh parliament to arm 40,000 men in ſupport of the king's authority; he ſecretly entered into correſpondence with the Engliſh royaliſts. But the general aſſembly, who was guided by Argyle, foreſaw that party, if ſucceſsful, would affect the reſtoration of monarchy, without the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery in England. They therefore thundered out anathemas againſt every one who paid obedience to the parliament; and the people, diſtracted in their choice, ſeconded but ſlowly the projects of Hamilton.

While the Scots were making preparations for the invaſion of England, in that country the indignation at ſeeing the military power prevail above the civil ſeemed to arouze all ranks of men. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, preſbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the firſt that declared themſelves; and they drew together a conſiderable army in thoſe parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cauſe. An inſurrection was raiſed in Kent by young Hales and the earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, ſir Charles Lucas, ſir George Liſle, excited commotions in Eſſex. The earl of Holland, who had ſeveral times changed ſides ſince the commencement of the civil wars, endeavoured to aſſemble forces in Surrey. Pomfret-caſtle in Yorkſhire was ſurpriſed by Maurice. Langdale and Muſgrave were in arms, and maſters of Berwic and Carliſle in the north.

What ſeemed the moſt dangerous circumſtance, the general ſpirit of diſcontent had ſeized the fleet. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainſborow, their

admiral, aſhore, ſailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them.

Cromwel and the military council prepared themſelves with vigour and conduct for defence. The eſtabliſhment of the army was at this time 26,000 men: but by enliſting ſupernumeraries the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly conſiſted of more than double their ſtated complement. Colonel Horton firſt attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a conſiderable defeat. The remnants of the vanquiſhed threw themſelves into Pembroke, and were there cloſely beſieged, and ſoon after taken by Cromwel. Lambert was oppoſed to Langdale and Muſgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Liveſey defeated the earl of Holland at Kingſton, and, purſuing his victory, took him priſoner at St. Neots. Fairfax, having routed the Kentiſh royaliſts at Maidſtone, followed the broken army: and when they joined the royaliſts of Eſſex, and threw themſelves into Colcheſter, he laid ſiege to that place, which defended itſelf to the laſt extremity. A new fleet was manned, and ſent out under the command of Warwic, to oppoſe the revolted ſhips, of which the prince had taken the command.

While the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty; the members who had withdrawn returned; the vote of non-addreſſes was repealed; and commiſſioners, five peers, and ten commoners, were ſent to Newport in the Iſle of Wight, in order to treat with Charles.

When the king preſented himſelf to this company, a great and ſenſible alteration was remarked in his aſpect, from what it appeared the year before when he reſided at Hampton-court. The moment his ſervants had been removed, he had laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected. His hair was become almoſt entirely grey; either from

from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows, under which he laboured, and which, though borne with conſtancy, preyed inwardly on his ſenſible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compaſſion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *grey and diſcrowned head*, as he himſelf terms it, in a copy of verſes, which the truth of the ſentiment, rather than any elegance of expreſſion, renders very pathetic. Having in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adverſaries, it now behoved him, by reaſoning and perſuaſion, to ſave ſome fragments of it from theſe peaceful, and no leſs implacable negociators.

If the health of Charles was broken, the vigour of his mind appeared entire; he alone during the tranſactions of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument againſt fifteen men of the greateſt parts and capacity in both houſes; and no advantage was ever gained over him. He offered to recal all his proclamations, and to acknowledge the parliament had taken arms in their own defence. He agreed that aſſembly ſhould maintain during the term of twenty years the power over the militia and army, and of levying what money they pleaſed for their ſupport; that during the ſame term they ſhould fill all the great offices: he alſo abandoned the power of creating peers without their conſent. And of all their demands he refuſed only two. He would neither give up his friends to puniſhment, nor deſert what he eſteemed his religious duty. He rejected a bill of attainder againſt the marquis of Newcaſtle, lords Digby and Biron, ſir Marmaduke Langdale, ſir Richard Granville, ſir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins: and in the caſe of religion, though he was willing to temper epiſcopacy he was reſolute not to aboliſh it.

But while the treaty between the king and parliament was ſpun out in uſeleſs conferences, the invaſions and inſurrections were every where ſubdued;

and the army had leiſure to execute their violent and ſanguinary purpoſes.

Hamilton having entered England with a numerous, though undiſciplined army, dared not unite his forces to thoſe of Langdale, which were at a ſmall diſtance from him, becauſe the Engliſh loyaliſts refuſed to take the covenant: and Cromwel feared not to oppoſe 8000 men to the 20,000 commanded by Hamilton and Langdale, and who were ſeparated by their ridiculous prejudices: he attacked the latter by ſurpriſe, near Preſton in Lancaſhire; and, though the royaliſts made a brave reſiſtance, yet not being ſuccoured in time by their confederates, they were almoſt entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and purſued to Utoxeter, where he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. Cromwel followed his advantage; and marching into Scotland with a conſiderable body, joined Argyle, who was alſo in arms; and having ſuppreſſed Laneric, Monro, and other moderate preſbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The eccleſiaſtical authority, exalted above the civil, exerciſed the ſevereſt vengeance on all who had a ſhare in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called; nor could any of that party recover truſt, or even live in ſafety, but by doing ſolemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of parliament, in defence of their lawful ſovereign.

The loan of great ſums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted from all ſuch as lay under any ſuſpicion of favouring the king's party, though their conduct had been ever ſo inoffenſive. This was a device, fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they ſaid, to reach *Heart Malignants*. Never, in this iſland, was known a more ſevere and arbitrary government, than was generally exerciſed by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

The ſiege of Colcheſter terminated in a manner not leſs unfortunate than Hamilton's engagement.

After ſuffering the extremities of famine, the garriſon was reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Fairfax, inſtigated by Ireton, reſolved to make ſir Charles Lucas, and ſir George Liſle, inſtant ſacrifices to military juſtice. Lord Capel, fearleſs of danger, reproached Ireton with this unuſual ſeverity; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the ſame honourable cauſe, to exerciſe the ſame impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was firſt ſhot, and he himſelf gave orders to fire, with the ſame alacrity as if he had commanded a platoon of his own ſoldiers. Liſle inſtantly ran and kiſſed the dead body, then cheerfully preſented himſelf to a like fate. Thinking that the ſoldiers, deſtined for his execution, ſtood at too great a diſtance, he called to them to come nearer: one of them replied, *I'll warrant you, ſir, we'll hit you*: he anſwered, ſmiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have miſſed me.* Thus periſhed this generous ſpirit, not leſs beloved for his modeſty and humanity, than eſteemed for his courage and military conduct.

Soon after, a gentleman appearing in the king's preſence, clothed in mourning for ſir Charles Lucas, that humane prince, ſuddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him:—he diſſolved into a flood of tears.

None now remained to oppoſe the violent meaſures of the army but the helpleſs king and parliament. The council of general officers demanded the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and a more equal repreſentation for the future. They advanced at the ſame time the troops to Windſor, and ſeizing the perſon of the king at Newport, conveyed him to Hurſt-caſtle in that neighbourhood.

The parliament loſt not courage, notwithſtanding the danger with which they were ſo nearly menaced. They ſet aſide the remonſtrance of the army, and iſſued orders to it to advance no nearer to London.

But

But Hollis, and the preſbyterian leaders, were dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words. The generals, under the name of Fairfax (for he ſtill allowed them to employ his name), marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuſe, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, ſurrounded the parliament with their hoſtile armaments.

The parliament, deſtitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to reſiſt. They attempted, in the face of the army, to cloſe their treaty with the king; and, though they had formerly voted his conceſſions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unſatisfactory, they now took into conſideration the final reſolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of 129 againſt 83, in the houſe of commons, that the king's conceſſions were a foundation for the houſes to proceed upon in the ſettlement of the kingdom.

Next day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the houſe with two regiments; and, directed by lord Grey of Groby, he ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room, which paſſed by the appellation of *Hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the moſt furious and moſt determined of the independents; and theſe exceeded not the number of fifty or ſixty. This invaſion of the parliament commonly paſſed under the name of *colonel Pride's purge*; ſo much diſpoſed was the nation to make merry with the dethroning of thoſe members, who had violently arrogated the whole authority of government, and deprived the king of his legal prerogatives.

The ſubſequent proceedings of the parliament, if this diminutive aſſembly deſerve that honourable name, retain not the leaſt appearance of law, equity,

or

or freedom. They inſtantly reverſed the former vote, and declared the king's conceſſions unſatisfactory. They determined, that no member, abſent at this laſt vote, ſhould be received till he ſubſcribed it as agreeable to his judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-addreſſes. And they committed to priſon ſir William Waller, ſir John Clotworthy, the generals Maſſey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the preſbyterians.

Theſe ſudden revolutions held the whole nation in terror and aſtoniſhment. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond ſea: the internal commerce of the kingdom began to ſtagnate. To remedy theſe evils, the generals, in the name of the army, publiſhed a declaration, in which they expreſſed their reſolution of ſupporting law and juſtice: they alſo took into conſideration a ſcheme called *the agreement of the people*, being the plan of a republic, to be ſubſtituted in the place of that government which they had ſo violently pulled in pieces.

The height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of the ſovereign. The generals were too wiſe to load themſelves ſingly with the infamy of this action. They were reſolved, that the parliament ſhould ſhare with them the reproach of the meaſure. In the houſe of commons a committee was appointed to bring in a charge againſt the king. On their report a vote paſſed, declaring it treaſon in a king to levy war againſt his parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try Charles for this new-invented treaſon. This vote was ſent up to the houſe of peers.

The houſe of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of ſmall account; but it had lately, ſince the king's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would ſubmit to the mortification of attending it. It happened, that day, to be fuller than uſual, and they were aſſembled, to the number of ſixteen. Without one diſſenting voice, and

and almoſt without deliberation, they inſtantly rejected the vote of the lower houſe, and adjourned themſelves for ten days; hoping that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

A.D. 1649. The commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. Having firſt eſtabliſhed a principle, which is noble in itſelf, and ſeems ſpecious, but is belied by all hiſtory and experience, *That the people are the origin of all juſt power*: they declared the commons repreſented the people, and that whatever was enacted by them had the force of a law.

The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, was then read, and unanimouſly aſſented to. In proportion to the enormity of the violences and uſurpations, were augmented the pretences of ſanctity, among thoſe regicides. "Should any one have voluntarily propoſed," ſaid Cromwel in the houſe, "to bring the king to puniſhment, I ſhould have regarded him as the greateſt traitor; but, ſince providence and neceſſity have caſt us upon it, I will pray to God for a bleſſing on your counſels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occaſion. Even I myſelf," ſubjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majeſty's reſtoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and conſidered this preternatural movement as the anſwer which heaven, having rejected the king, had ſent to my ſupplications."

Colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and the moſt furious enthuſiaſt in the army, was ſent with a ſtrong party to conduct the king to London. Charles was now convinced that the period of his life was approaching; yet it was a private aſſaſſination that he looked for; ſince he could not believe that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution.

All

All the circumſtances of the trial were now adjuſted; and the high court of juſtice fully conſtituted. It conſiſted of 133 perſons, as named by the commons; but there ſcarcely ever ſat above 70: ſo difficult was it, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice and the allurements of intereſt, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal meaſure. Cromwel, Ireton, Harriſon, and the chief officers of the army, moſt of them of mean birth, were members, together with ſome of the lower houſe and ſome citizens of London. The twelve judges were at firſt appointed in the number: But as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of Engliſh law to try the king for treaſon, by whoſe authority all accuſations for treaſon muſt neceſſarily be conducted; their names, as well as thoſe of ſome peers, were afterwards ſtruck out. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident. Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England. Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall.

The ſolicitor, in the name of the commons, repreſented that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entruſted with a limited power, had, from a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited government, levied war againſt the parliament, and the people they repreſented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer.

The king, though produced as a criminal, maintained the majeſty of a monarch; with great temper and dignity he declined the authority of the court. He obſerved, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he had expected to be reſtored to his power, and perſonal liberty; that he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whoſe authority was pretended, were ſubdued by lawleſs force, and were bereaved of their liberty:

that

that he himſelf was their NATIVE HEREDITARY KING: nor was the whole authority of the ſtate, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majeſty of heaven: that thoſe who arrogated a title to ſit as his judges were born his ſubjects, and born ſubjects to thoſe laws which determined, *That the King can do no wrong:* that to the world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was deſirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and aſſert the juſtice of thoſe defenſive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourſe: but that, in order to preſerve a uniformity of conduct, he muſt at preſent forego the apology of his innocence; leſt, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he be juſtly branded as the betrayer, inſtead of being applauded as the martyr of the conſtitution.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their juriſdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined ſome witneſſes, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms againſt the forces commiſſioned by the parliament; they pronounced ſentence againſt him. He ſeemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes; and it was ſuppoſed, that he intended to reſign the crown to his ſon: but the court refuſed compliance, and conſidered that requeſt as nothing but a delay of juſtice.

In this laſt ſcene Charles forgot not his part, either as a prince or a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmoſt perſpicuity and juſtneſs both of thought and expreſſion: mild and equable, he roſe into no paſſion at that unuſual authority which was aſſumed over him. His ſoul, without effort or affectation, ſeemed only to remain in the ſituation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice

malice and iniquity. The ſoldiers, inſtigated by their ſuperiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for juſtice: *Poor ſouls!* ſaid the king to one of his attendants; *for a little money they would do as much againſt their commanders.*

As ſoon as the intention of trying the king was known in foreign countries, the general voice of reaſon and humanity exclaimed againſt ſo enormous an action. The French ambaſſador, by orders from his court, interpoſed in the king's behalf: the Dutch employed their good offices: the Scots exclaimed and proteſted againſt the violence: the queen, the prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All ſolicitations were found fruitleſs with men whoſe reſolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles's friends, perſons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindeſey, repreſented to the commons that they were the king's counſellors, and in the eye of the law were alone guilty for every action of the prince; the puniſhment they expoſed themſelves to tended to their own honour, but contributed nothing towards the king's ſafety.

The people remained in ſilence and aſtoniſhment; the ſoldiers, inceſſantly plied with prayers and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of bloody fury. Three days were allowed the king between his ſentence and execution: the interval he paſſed in great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed acceſs to him. It conſiſted only of the princeſs Elizabeth and the duke of Gloceſter; for the duke of York had made his eſcape. Gloceſter was little more than an infant: the princeſs, notwithſtanding her tender years, ſhewed an advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impreſſion upon her. After many pious conſolations and advices, the king gave her in charge to tell the queen, that, during the whole

courſe of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderneſs and his life ſhould have an equal duration.

To the young duke too, he could not forbear giving ſome advice, in order to ſeaſon his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was ſo ſoon to be his ſovereign. Holding him on his knee, he ſaid, "Now "they will cut off thy father's head." At theſe words the child looked very ſtedfaſtly upon him. "Mark, child! what I ſay: they will cut off my "head! and perhaps make thee a king: but mark "what I ſay, thou muſt not be a king, as long as "thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They "will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can "catch them! And thy head too they will cut off "at laſt! Therefore, I charge thee, do not be "made a king by them!" The duke, ſighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces firſt!" So determined an anſwer, from one of ſuch tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

Every night, during this interval, the king ſlept ſound as uſual; though the noiſe of workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually reſounded in his ears. The morning of the fatal day he roſe early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. Biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteady virtues by which the king himſelf was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, aſſiſted him in his devotions, and paid the laſt melancholy duties to his friend and ſovereign.

The ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for the execution: for it was intended, by chooſing that very place, in ſight of his own palace, to diſplay more evidently the triumph of popular

pular juſtice over royal majeſty. When the king came upon the ſcaffold, he found it ſo ſurrounded with ſoldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: he addreſſed, therefore, his diſcourſe to the few perſons who were about him; particularly colonel Tomlinſon, to whoſe care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had wrought an entire converſion. He juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and obſerved, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had enliſted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preſerve that authority entire, which his predeceſſors had tranſmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think that ill inſtruments had interpoſed, and raiſed in them fears and jealouſies with regard to his intentions. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and obſerved, that an unjuſt ſentence, which he had ſuffered to take effect, was now puniſhed by an unjuſt ſentence upon himſelf. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. When he was preparing himſelf for the block, biſhop Juxon called to him: "There is, ſir, but "one ſtage more, which, though turbulent and "troubleſome, is yet a very ſhort one. Conſider, "it will ſoon carry you a great way; it will carry "you from earth to heaven; and there you ſhall "find, to your great joy, the prize to which you "haſten, a crown of glory."—"I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible "crown; where no diſturbance can have place." At one blow was his head ſevered from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner: another, in a like diſguiſe, held up to the

ſpectators the head ſtreaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!*

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the grief, indignation, and aſtoniſhment, which took place throughout the nation, on this fatal execution. Each reproached himſelf either with active diſloyalty towards him, or with too indolent a defence of his oppreſſed cauſe. The very pulpits were bedewed with unſuborned tears; thoſe pulpits which had formerly thundered out the moſt violent anathemas againſt him: and all men united in their deteſtation of thoſe hypocritical parricides, who, by this laſt act of iniquity, had thrown an indelible ſtain on the nation.

A freſh inſtance of hypocriſy was diſplayed the very day of the king's death. The generous Fairfax, who had determined to attempt his reſcue with his own regiment, was artfully engaged by Cromwel to ſeek ſome direction from heaven, and to join in prayer with Harriſon while the blow was ſtruck. When intelligence arrived of the event, Harriſon aroſe from his knees, and inſiſted that the execution was a miraculous and providential anſwer, which heaven had ſent to their devout ſupplications.

It being remarked that the king, the moment before he ſtretched out his neck to the executioner, had ſaid to Juxon, in a very earneſt accent, the ſingle word REMEMBER, the generals inſiſted on knowing from the prelate the king's meaning; and Juxon told them, that Charles had charged him to inculcate on his ſon the forgiveneſs of his murderers.

The character of Charles, as that of moſt, if not all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly ſpeaking, his imperfections. To conſider him in the moſt favourable light, it may be affirmed that his dignity was free from pride, his humanity from weakneſs, his bravery from raſhneſs, his temperance from

from auſterity, his frugality from avarice: all theſe virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreſerved praiſe. To ſpeak the moſt harſhly of him, we may affirm that many of his good qualities were attended with ſome latent frailty, which, though ſeemingly inconſiderable, was able, when ſeconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to diſappoint them of all their influence: His beneficent diſpoſition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tinctured with ſuperſtition; his good ſenſe was diſfigured by a deference to perſons of a capacity inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from haſty and precipitate reſolutions. He deſerves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular eſtabliſhed government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular aſſembly, or finally to ſubdue their pretenſions.

This prince was of a comely preſence; of a ſweet, but melancholy aſpect. His face was regular, handſome, and well complexioned; his body ſtrong, healthy, and juſtly proportioned; and being of a middle ſtature, he was capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues. He excelled in horſemanſhip and other exerciſes; and he poſſeſſed all the exterior, as well as many of the eſſential qualities, which form an accompliſhed prince.

In order to cloſe this part of the Britiſh hiſtory, it is alſo neceſſary to relate the diſſolution of the monarchy in England: that event ſoon followed upon the death of the monarch. When the peers met, on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon buſineſs, and ſent down ſome votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the leaſt notice. In a few days, the lower houſe paſſed a vote, that they would make no more addreſſes to the houſe of peers, nor receive any from them; and that that houſe was uſeleſs and dangerous, and was therefore to be aboliſhed. A

like vote paſſed with regard to the monarchy; and it is remarkable, that Martin, a zealous republican, in the debate on this queſtion, confeſſed that, if they deſired a king, the laſt was as proper as any gentleman in England. The commons ordered a new great ſeal to be engraved, on which that aſſembly was repreſented, with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public buſineſs were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treaſon to proclaim, or any otherwiſe acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales.

The commons intended, it is ſaid, to bind the princeſs Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker: The duke of Gloceſter was to be taught ſome other mechanical employment. But the former ſoon died of grief, as is ſuppoſed, for her father's tragical end; the latter was, by Cromwel, ſent beyond ſea.

The king's ſtatue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedeſtal theſe words were inſcribed: EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The tyrant is gone, the laſt of the kings.*

Duke Hamilton was tried by a new high court of juſtice, as earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for treaſon. This ſentence, which was certainly hard, but which ought to ſave his memory from all imputations of treachery to his maſter, was executed on a ſcaffold, erected before Weſtminſter-hall. Lord Capel underwent the ſame fate. Both theſe noblemen had eſcaped from priſon, but were afterwards diſcovered and taken. To all the ſolicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders ſtill replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they ſhould ſuffer; ſince it had permitted them to fall into the hands of their enemies, after they had once recovered their liberty.

The

The earl of Holland loſt his life by a like ſentence. Though of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the king, and his frequent changing of ſides, were regarded as great ſtains on his memory. The earl of Norwich and ſir John Owen, being condemned by the ſame court, were pardoned by the commons.

The king left ſix children; three males, Charles, born in 1630, James duke of York, born in 1633, Henry duke of Gloceſter, born in 1641; and three females, Mary princeſs of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards ducheſs of Orleans, born at Exeter 1644.

It may be expected that we ſhould here mention the *Icon Baſilikè*, a work publiſhed in the king's name a few days after his execution. The genuineneſs of the production has been greatly doubted; but the proofs ſeems to incline to the royal ſide: it reſembles in purity and nearneſs the compoſitions of Charles; and is totally unlike the bombaſt and corrupt ſtyle of Dr. Gauden, who has been aſſerted to have been the author of it, and to have impoſed it on the world for the king's.

The publication of it excited general compaſſion towards the unhappy Charles. Milton compares its effects to thoſe which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæſar. The *Icon* paſſed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great intereſt taken in it by the nation, as the ſuppoſed production of their murdered ſovereign, it muſt be acknowledged the beſt proſe compoſition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the Engliſh language.

CHAP. XX.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

State of England—of Scotland—of Ireland.—Succeſs of Cromwel in Ireland.—Montroſe taken priſoner, and executed.—Battle of Dunbar—of Worceſter.—The Commonwealth.—Dutch war.—Diſſolution of the parliament.—Cromwel's birth and private life.—Barebone's parliament.—Cromwel made protector.—Peace with Holland.—A new parliament.—Inſurrection of the royaliſts.—State of Europe.—War with Spain.—Jamaica conquered.—Succeſs and death of admiral Blake.—Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel.—Dunkirk taken.—Sickneſs of the Protector.—His death and character.

A. D. 1649. ON the death of Charles the diſorders that overſpread England were innumerable; every man had framed the model of a republic; and was eager even to impoſe it by force on his fellow citizens. The levellers inſiſted on an equal diſtribution of power and property. The millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, required that government itſelf ſhould be aboliſhed, and all human powers be laid in the duſt, in order to pave the way for the ſecond coming of Chriſt. The antinomians aſſerted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were ſuſpended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine, were ſuperior to the *beggarly elements* of juſtice and humanity.

The royaliſts were inflamed with the higheſt reſentment againſt thoſe ignoble adverſaries who had reduced them to ſubjection. The preſbyterians were

were enraged to find the fruits of their labours raviſhed from them by the ſuperior cunning of their aſſociates; and the army, the chief ſupport of the republican independent faction, was actuated by a religious frenzy that made it dangerous to the aſſembly which had aſſumed the command over it.

What alone gave ſome ſtability to all theſe unſettled humours was, the great influence both civil and military acquired by Oliver Cromwel. This man, ſuited to the age in which he lived, and to that alone, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character, as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterpriſing. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meaneſt centinel, he never loſt his authority: tranſported to a degree of madneſs with religious extaſies, he never forgot the political purpoſes to which they might ſerve. Hating monarchy, while a ſubject; deſpiſing liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for a time all orders of men under a ſeeming obedience to the parliament; he was ſecretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament, however, after the murder of the king, began to aſſume more the air of a civil and legal power. They admitted a few of the excluded members; they named a council of ſtate, thirty-eight in number, who digeſted all buſineſs before it was brought into the houſe; and they pretended to employ themſelves in adjuſting the plans of a new repreſentation. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themſelves, had no leiſure or inclination to interpoſe in the domeſtic diſſenſions of this iſland. The young king, poor and neglected, living ſometimes in Holland, ſometimes in France, ſometimes in Jerſey, comforted himſelf amidſt his preſent diſtreſſes with the hopes of better fortune. The ſituation alone of Scotland and Ire-

land gave any immediate inquietude to the new republic.

After the defeats of Montroſe and Hamilton the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, whoſe religious reſentment againſt the independents carried them to embrace oppoſite maxims in political conduct. On the execution of the king, they therefore proclaimed his ſon and ſucceſſor, Charles II. but on condition of his ſtrict obſervance of the covenant; and the Engliſh commonwealth having no pretence to interpoſe in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots for the preſent to take their own meaſures in ſettling their government.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for ſubduing that country. In ſupport of the royal authority, Ormond had concluded a league with the catholic Iriſh; but the nuncio from Rome, jealous of any alliance with proteſtants, had prevailed on the catholics to break it; and Ormond, preſſed both by the forces of the parliament and the Iriſh rebels, had, agreeable to the orders of Charles, ſurrendered Dublin, and the forts he ſtill held, into the hands of the former. He himſelf, ſoon after the death of his royal maſter, retired into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales.

The Iriſh were, however, ſoon diſguſted by the arrogance of the nuncio; and the earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman who had ever preſerved his loyalty, chaſed the nuncio out of the iſland; and ſent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord lieutenant to return and take poſſeſſion of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or ſecret enmity prevailed. He, however, contrived to aſſemble an army of 16,000 men, recovered many places from the parliament, and even threatened Dublin with a ſiege.

When

When the Engliſh commonwealth was brought to ſome tolerable ſettlement, men began to caſt their eyes towards the neighbouring iſland. During the conteſt of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the preſbyterians endeavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwel himſelf began to aſpire to a command, where ſo much glory, he ſaw, might be won, and ſo much authority acquired. In his abſence, he took care to have his name propoſed to the council of ſtate; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote him into that important office: the former ſuſpected, that the matter had not been propoſed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter deſired to remove him to a diſtance, and hoped, during his abſence, to gain the aſcendant over Fairfax, whom he had ſo long blinded by his hypocritical profeſſions. Cromwel himſelf, when informed of his election, feigned ſurpriſe, and pretended at firſt to heſitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his diſſimulation, or in his turn feigning to be deceived, ſtill continued, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, his friendſhip and connexions with Cromwel.

Before the new lieutenant ſet out, he had many diſorders to compoſe in England; but what chiefly demanded his attention was the dangerous humours of the army. Though the levellers had for a time been ſuppreſſed by the audacious ſpirit of Cromwel, they ſtill continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be conſulted, as before, in the adminiſtration of the commonwealth. They now practiſed againſt their officers the ſame leſſon which they had been taught againſt the parliament. They framed a remonſtance, and ſent five agitators to preſent it to the general and council of war: theſe

were

were caſhiered with ignominy by a ſentence of a court-martial. One Lockier, having carried his ſedition farther, was ſentenced to death; but this puniſhment was ſo far from quelling the mutinous ſpirit, that above a thouſand of his companions ſhewed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and ſea-green ribbons by way of favours. About four thouſand aſſembled at Burford, under the command of Thomſon, a man formerly condemned for ſedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel, fell upon them, while unprepared for defence, and ſeduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken priſoners; ſome of them capitally puniſhed: the reſt pardoned: and this tumultuous ſpirit, though it ſtill lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, ſeemed for the preſent to be ſuppreſſed.

Lilburn, who had been formerly treated with ſuch ſeverity by the ſtar-chamber, was thrown into priſon on account of a petition that he preſented, as a promoter of ſedition. The women who had aſſembled to demand his releaſe were now deſired to mind their houſehold affairs. All the jails in England were filled with men whom the jealouſies and fears of the ruling party had repreſented as dangerous. The taxes, continued by the new government, and which, being unuſual, were eſteemed heavy, increaſed the general ill will under which it laboured. Beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe, ninety thouſand pounds a-month were levied on land for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The ſequeſtrations and compoſitions of the royaliſts, the ſale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, though they yielded great ſums, were not ſufficient to ſupport the vaſt expences, and, as was ſuſpected, the great depredations of the parliament and of their creatures.

Amidſt

Amidſt all theſe difficulties the ſteady mind of Cromwel ſtill purſued its purpoſe. Four thouſand men, whom he had ſent before him, enabled Jones, formerly a lawyer, but then a general in the ſervice of the parliament, to ſally from the walls of Dublin, and to ſurpriſe Ormond who had beſieged that city. Soon after this event Cromwel arrived in Dublin, and haſtened to Tredah: Ormond had thrown into that town a ſtrong garriſon; but Cromwel, who knew the importance of diſpatch, having made a breach, ordered a general aſſault. All oppoſition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops; the town was taken ſword in hand; and orders being iſſued to give no quarter, a cruel ſlaughter was made of the garriſon. Even a few, who were ſaved by the ſoldiers, ſatiated with blood, were next day miſerably butchered by orders from the general. One perſon alone of the garriſon eſcaped to be a meſſenger of this univerſal havoc and deſtruction.

Cromwel pretended to retaliate by this ſevere execution the cruelty of the Iriſh maſſacre: but he well knew, that almoſt the whole garriſon was Engliſh; and his juſtice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garriſons from reſiſtance. His policy, however, had the deſired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garriſon, after a ſlight defence, offered to capitulate; but, before they obtained a ceſſation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the Engliſh army ruſhed in upon them. The ſame ſeverity was exerciſed as at Tredah.

Every town before which Cromwel preſented himſelf, now opened its gates without reſiſtance. Roſs, though ſtrongly garriſoned was ſurrendered by lord Taffe. Having taken Eſtionage, Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himſelf maſter of Paſſage and Carric. The Engliſh had no farther difficulties to encounter than what aroſe from

from fatigue and the advanced ſeaſon. Fluxes and contagious diſtempers creeped in among the ſoldiers, who periſhed in great numbers. Jones himſelf, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had ſo far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to ſubſiſt in the enemy's country, or retreat to his own garriſons. But while he was in theſe ſtraits, Corke, Kinſale, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Munſter deſerted to him, and opening their gates, reſolved to ſhare the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

The deſertion of the Engliſh put an end to Ormond's authority; he left the iſland, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs ſo deſperate as to admit of no remedy. The Iriſh were glad to embrace baniſhment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men paſſed into foreign ſervice; and Cromwel, well pleaſed to free the iſland from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the Engliſh, gave them full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

While Cromwel proceeded with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs in Ireland, fortune was preparing for him a new ſcene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague when he was informed that he was proclaimed king by the Scottiſh parliament, and of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation. While he deliberated on
A.D. 1650. ſubſcribing to theſe terms, he found it neceſſary to depart from Holland. Doriſlaus, who had been ſent as envoy to Holland by the parliament, had been there aſſaſſinated by the royaliſts; and the States found it neceſſary to ſatisfy the Engliſh Commonwealth by removing the king. After paſſing ſome time at Paris, Charles retired to Jerſey, which ſtill acknowledged his authority; he thence proceeded to Breda, where he met the commiſſioners from Scotland, and learnt the final ſtipulations

lations on which the Scots conſented to receive him.

Theſe were, that he ſhould iſſue a proclamation baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons, that is, all thoſe who, either under Hamilton or Montroſe, had ventured their lives for his family; that no Engliſh ſubject who had ſerved againſt the parliament ſhould be allowed to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf by his royal promiſe to take the covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of parliament by which preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, the confeſſion of faith, and the catechiſm, were eſtabliſhed; and that in civil affairs he ſhould entirely conform himſelf to the direction of parliament, and in eccleſiaſtical to that of the aſſembly. Theſe propoſals, the commiſſioners, after paſſing ſome time in ſermons and prayers, in order to expreſs the more determined reſolution, very ſolemnly delivered to the king.

The earl of Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, with the young duke of Buckingham, deſirous of returning home, earneſtly preſſed Charles to ſubmit to the conditions required of him. Their arguments were ſeconded by the advice of the queen-mother, and of the prince of Orange, the king's brother-in-law. But what chiefly determined Charles to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montroſe, who, with all the circumſtances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen.

Montroſe was occupied in levying for the Imperial ſervice a regiment in the Low Countries, when he heard of the tragical death of the king; and at the ſame time received from his young maſter a renewal of his commiſſion of captain-general in Scotland. His ardent and daring ſpirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The king of Denmark and duke of Holſtein ſent him

ſome

ſome ſmall ſupply of money: the queen of Sweden furniſhed him with arms: the prince of Orange with ſhips: and Montroſe, haſtening his enterpriſe, leſt the king's agreement with the Scots ſhould make him revoke his commiſſion, ſet out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, moſt of them Germans. Theſe were all the preparations which he could make againſt a kingdom, ſettled in domeſtic peace, ſupported by a diſciplined army, fully appriſed of his enterpriſe, and prepared againſt him. Some of his retainers having told him of a propheſy, that *to him and him alone it was reſerved to reſtore the king's authority in all his dominions*; he lent a willing ear to ſuggeſtions which, however ill grounded or improbable, were ſo conformable to his own daring cha acter.

But all men were fatigued with wars and diſorders; and a few only of the inhabitants of the Orkneys had joined his ſtandard, when he was ſuddenly attacked by a body of cavalry. The royaliſts were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf, having put on the diſguiſe of a peaſant, was perfidiouſly delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend to whom he had entruſted his perſon.

Leſley, who had made him priſoner, led him about for ſeveral days in the ſame low habit under which he had diſguiſed himſelf; the vulgar wherever he paſſed were inſtigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumſtance of elaborate rage and inſult was put in practice by order of the parliament. At the gate of the new city he was met by the magiſtrates, and put into a cart, purpoſely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him, He was bound with a cord drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſtened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then took off the hat of the noble priſoner, and rode himſelf before the cart in his livery, and

with

with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken priſoners with the marquis, walking two and two before them.

When he was carried before the parliament, and reproached with the breach of the national covenant, which he had ſubſcribed, he boldly anſwered, that he acknowledged with infinite ſhame the errors of his former conduct; that his following ſervices he hoped had ſufficiently teſtified his repentance; and that in the proſpect of death he had no other affliction than to ſee the authority of his prince, with which he was inveſted, treated with ſo much ignominy. He told them, they were a miſerably deluded and deluding people, and would ſhortly bring their country under the moſt inſupportable ſervitude to which any nation had ever been reduced. When informed, that by part of his ſentence his head was to be cut off, and affixed to the priſon; and his legs and arms to be ſtuck up in the four chief towns of the kingdom; "For my part," added he, "I "am much prouder to have my head affixed to the "place where it is ſentenced to ſtand, than to have "my picture hang in the king's bed-chamber. So "far from being ſorry that my quarters are to be "ſent to four cities of the kingdom, I wiſh I had "limbs enow to be diſperſed into all the cities of "Chriſtendom, there to remain as teſtimonies in "favour of the cauſe for which I ſuffer." This ſentiment, that very evening, while in priſon, he threw into verſe. The poem remains; a ſignal monument of his heroic ſpirit, and no deſpicable proof of his poetical genius.

With the ſame conſtancy he, in the 38th year of his age, endured the laſt act of the executioner; leaving behind him the character of one of thoſe heroes of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch.

Charles had in conſequence of his agreement with the commiſſioners, arrived under the convoy of

ſeven Dutch ſhips of war in the Frith of Cromarty; before he was permitted to land he was required to ſign the covenant: and as he paſſed through Aberdeen, the quarters of Montroſe were allowed to hang over the gate by which he entered. He found that he was conſidered as a pageant of ſtate; and that the few remains of royalty that he poſſeſſed ſerved only to draw on him the greater indignities. The facility which he diſcovered in yielding to all their demands, made the clergy and covenanters doubt of his ſincerity; and they propoſed, inſtead of the ſolemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, that he ſhould paſs through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people.

From this degrading meaſure Charles was ſaved by the advance of the Engliſh army under Cromwel. That able general, having broken the force and courage of the Iriſh, left the entire reduction of that iſland to Ireton. On Fairfax, who entertained unſurmountable ſcruples to the invading of the Scots, reſigning his commiſſion, Cromwel was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a commonwealth, which ſtood entirely by arms, was of the utmoſt importance; and was the chief ſtep which this ambitious politician had yet made towards ſovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

Leſlie, who commanded the Scottiſh army, entrenched himſelf between Edinburgh and Leith, avoided every artifice of Cromwel to bring him to a battle; the latter, ſtraitened for proviſions, retired to Dunbar, and was followed by Leſlie, who encamped on the neighbouring heights, and ſecured the paſſes between Dunbar and Berwic. The Engliſh general was reduced to extremities; he had even embraced a reſolution of ſending by ſea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through at all hazards with his cavalry. The madneſs

neſs of the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics ſaved him from this loſs and diſhonour.

Theſe enthuſiaſts had not only ordered Charles to quit the army, where he had exerted himſelf with ſpirit, but had purged it of about 4000 malignants, who were eſteemed the ſoldiers of chief credit. They had now perſuaded themſelves, by revelations, that the army of Cromwel was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of theſe viſions they forced their general, in ſpite of his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, with a view of attacking the Engliſh in their retreat. Cromwel, looking through a glaſs, ſaw the enemy's camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was eaſily obſerved that nothing in military actions can ſupply the place of diſcipline and experience; and that, in the preſence of real danger, where men are not accuſtomed to it, the fumes of enthuſiaſm preſently diſſipate, and loſe their influence. The Scots, though double in number to the Engliſh, were ſoon put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The chief, if not only, reſiſtance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army which was the leaſt infected with fanaticiſm. No victory could be more complete than this which was obtained by Cromwel. About three thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and nine thouſand taken priſoners. Cromwel purſued his advantage, and took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottiſh army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter ſeaſon, and an ague, which ſeized Cromwel, kept him from puſhing the victory any farther.

The clergy continued to aſcribe this misfortune to the provocations of the king's houſe. But the defeat of the Scots was regarded as a fortunate circumſtance by Charles. The vanquiſhed were obliged to give him ſome more authority, and to

apply to him for ſupport. He was allowed to join the camp; yet the forces of the weſtern counties, who called themſelves *Proteſters*, ſtill kept aloof from the army which admitted *Malignants*.

A. D. 1651. Charles, encamped at Torwood, ſteadily adhered to cautious meaſures: the town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north ſupplied him with proviſions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After loſing much time, the Engliſh general ſent Lambert over the frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the proviſions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put them to rout with great ſlaughter. Cromwel alſo paſſed over with his whole army: and lying at the back of the king, made it impoſſible for him to keep his poſt any longer.

Charles, reduced to deſpair, embraced a reſolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he reſolved immediately to march into England; where he expected that all his friends, and all thoſe who were diſcontented with the preſent government, would flock to his ſtandard. He perſuaded the generals to enter into the ſame views; and with one conſent the army, to the number of 14,000 men, roſe from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the ſouth.

Cromwel was ſurpriſed at this movement of the royal army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had expoſed his friends to imminent danger, and ſaw the king with numerous forces marching into England; where his preſence, from the general hatred which prevailed againſt the parliament, was capable of producing ſome great revolution. But if this conduct was an overſight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He diſpatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them

them not to be diſmayed at the approach of the Scots: he ſent orders every where for aſſembling forces to oppoſe the king: he ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infeſt their march: and he himſelf, leaving Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the expedition poſſible.

Charles found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of increaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterpriſe, fell off in great numbers. The Engliſh preſbyterians, having no warning given them of the king's approach were not prepared to join him. To the royaliſts this meaſure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scottiſh army, by the orders which the committee of miniſters had iſſued, not to admit any, even in this deſperate extremity, who would not ſubſcribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the iſle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independence, was employed in levying forces in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the king, when he arrived at Worceſter, found that his forces, extremely haraſſed by a haſty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he roſe from his camp in the Torwood.

Such is the influence of eſtabliſhed government, that the commonwealth, though founded in uſurpation the moſt unjuſt and unpopular, had authority ſufficient to raiſe every where the militia of the counties; and theſe, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts againſt the king. With an army of about 30,000 men, Cromwel fell upon Worceſter; and attacking it on all ſides, and meeting with little reſiſtance, except from duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were ſtrowed with dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and ho-

nour, was mortally wounded; Maſſey wounded and taken priſoner; the king himſelf, having given many proofs of perſonal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottiſh army was either killed or taken priſoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that eſcaped from the field of battle.

The king, on leaving Worceſter, to provide for his ſafety, had ſeparated himſelf from his companions. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boſcobel, a lone houſe on the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. This man, in conjunction with his four brothers, ſerved him with unſhaken fidelity; they clothed him in a garb like their own; they pretended to employ him, like themſelves, in cutting of faggots. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he ſheltered himſelf among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He ſaw ſeveral ſoldiers paſs by. All of them were intent in ſearch of the king; and ſome expreſſed, in his hearing, their earneſt wiſhes of ſeizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

From Boſcobel he eſcaped to the houſe of colonel Lane, a zealous royaliſt; thence purſued his journey to Briſtol, in the character of ſervant to Lane's ſiſter. But no ſhip being found ready to ſail at Briſtol, he entruſted himſelf to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, an affectionate partiſan of the royal family. In Windham's houſe he continued ſeveral days; at length a veſſel was procured at Shoreham in Suſſex, in which he embarked. He had been known to ſo many, that if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſcamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment and eſcape.

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The battle of Worceſter afforded Cromwel what he called his *crowning mercy*. He now diſcovered to his intimate friends his aſpiring views. The little popularity acquired by the republicans ſtimulated the ambition of this enterpriſing politician. The nation began to apprehend, that ſixty or ſeventy perſons, calling themſelves the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, intended to eſtabliſh themſelves as a perpetual legiſlature. They had erected a high court of juſtice, which intercepted the trial by jury, and which was compoſed of men devoted to the ruling party. The deciſions of theſe men, who ſacrificed every thing to their own ambition, were loudly complained of by the people at large.

The republicans, both by the turn of their diſpoſition, and by the nature of the inſtruments which they employed, were, indeed, better qualified for acts of force and vigour, than for the ſlow and deliberate work of legiſlation. Never had the power of England appeared ſo formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms, as it did at this time in the hands of the commonwealth. Blake, who had defended Lyme and Taunton againſt the late king, was made an admiral; and though only accuſtomed to land ſervice, he raiſed the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period.

He chaſed into the Tagus prince Rupert, to whom the king had entruſted that ſquadron which had deſerted to him. The king of Portugal aided prince Rupert in making his eſcape; while Blake in revenge made prize of twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden. The king of Portugal, ſenſible of the unequal conteſt that he was engaged in, purchaſed the alliance of the republic by the moſt humiliating conceſſions; and prince Rupert, after a ſhort cruize in the Weſt Indies, and having loſt part of his ſhips in a ſtorm, returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the remainder.

In America the Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, and Barbadoes were reduced. In Europe, Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man were brought under ſubjection to the republic. Ireton had expired in achieving the conqueſt of Ireland; but that work was completed by lieutenant-general Ludlow; and in Scotland Monk was received into Stirling, carried Dundee by aſſault, and by his prudent conduct in peace, as much as by his vigour in war, reconciled the turbulent Scots to the Engliſh yoke.

A. D. 1652. By the total reduction of the Britiſh dominions, the parliament had leiſure for foreign enterpriſes; and the Dutch were the firſt that felt the weight of their arms.

The death of William prince of Orange had been attended with the depreſſion of his party, and the triumph of the Dutch republicans; and an idea had been entertained in England of a coalition between the two republics; but the States were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious; and St. John, who had been ſent over for the purpoſe, returned, exaſperated at his diſappointment, and at the coldneſs with which he had been received.

Many of the members concurred with the reſentment of St. John, in hopes that a foreign war would ſerve as a pretence for continuing the ſame parliament; ſome thought that it would furniſh a reaſon for maintaining the army in its full force; while others deemed it good policy to divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels towards foreign tranſactions. Theſe views, enforced by the violent ſpirit of St. John, determined the parliament to change the purpoſed alliance into a furious war againſt the United States.

To cover theſe hoſtile intentions, the parliament framed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this

this law, though the terms in which it was conceived were general, the Dutch were principally affected; becauſe their country produces few commodities, and they ſubſiſt chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of repriſal were granted to ſeveral merchants, who complained of injuries which, they pretended, they had received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ſhips fell into their hands, and were made prizes. The cruelties committed on the Engliſh at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which ſeemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years' ſilence, were again made the ground of complaint. And the allowing the murderers of Doriſlaus to eſcape, and the conniving at the inſults to which St. John had been expoſed, were repreſented as ſymptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hoſtile diſpoſition in the States.

The States, not to be unprepared, equipped a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail; and Tromp, received the command of forty-two ſail in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the privateers of the Engliſh. In the road of Dover he met with Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet much inferior in number. Each admiral has charged his adverſary with being the aggreſſor. Blake, though his ſquadron conſiſted only of fifteen veſſels, reinforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coaſt of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have inſulted the Dutch ambaſſadors, who lived at Chelſea, had not the council of ſtate ſent guards to protect them.

When the States heard of this action they entreated the parliament to appoint commiſſioners to clear up the truth; but the parliament would hearken to no remonſtrances. Blake was directed to ſail north-

northwards, and to fall upon the herring buſſes, which were eſcorted by twelve men of war All theſe he either took or diſperſed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred ſail. When theſe two admirals were within ſight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious ſtorm attacked them. Blake took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbours. The Dutch fleet was diſperſed, and received great damage.

After ſeveral actions, which were chiefly favourable to the Engliſh, Tromp, ſeconded by de Ruiter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who reſolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted great bravery. In this action the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himſelf was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ſhips were burned, and one ſunk; and night came opportunely to ſave the Engliſh fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-maſt; as if he were reſolved to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been ſent for from Scotland. When the Engliſh lay off Portland, they deſcried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix veſſels, ſailing up the Channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the iſle of Rhé, till the fleet ſhould arrive to eſcort them. Tromp, and, under him, de Ruiter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the moſt furious that had yet been fought between theſe warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who

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was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made a ſkilful retreat, and ſaved all the merchant ſhips, except thirty. He loſt, however, eleven ſhips of war, had 2000 men ſlain, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were extremely ſhattered, had but one ſunk. Their ſlain were not much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy.

This defeat, together with the injury their trade had ſuſtained, determined A. D. 1653. the States to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make ſome advances towards peace. They met not, however, with a favourable reception; and it was not without pleaſure that they learned the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more proſperous turn to their affairs.

The zealous republicans had promoted the war, that they might ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and diminiſh, with the influence of the latter, that of the captain-general. Cromwel was aware of their jealouſy, and to anticipate their deſigns ſummoned a general council of the officers who were devoted to him. A remonſtrance to parliament was determined on in this council; which, after complaining of the arrears due to the army, demanded that a new parliament ſhould be ſummoned, to eſtabliſh that free and equal government which they had ſo long been promiſed.

The parliament made a ſharp reply to the council of officers; and while the latter were debating on what meaſures they ſhould purſue, Ingoldſby informed Cromwel, that the parliament had come to a reſolution not to diſſolve itſelf, but to fill up the houſe by new elections. Cromwel, in a rage, immediately haſtened to the houſe, and carried a body of 300 ſoldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, ſome in the lobby, ſome on the ſtairs. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend

friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears beſought the Lord not to impoſe upon him: but there was a neceſſity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Harriſon, and told him that he now judged the parliament ripe for a diſſolution. "Sir," ſaid Harriſon, "the "work is very great and dangerous: I deſire you "ſeriouſly to conſider, before you engage in it." "You ſay well," replied the general; and thereupon ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is the time: I muſt do it." And ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the parliament with the vileſt reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was a ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For ſhame," ſaid he to the parliament, "get you gone; give place to honeſter "men; to thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge "their truſt. You are no longer a parliament: I "tell you, you are no longer a parliament: the "Lord has done with you: he has choſen other "inſtruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O! ſir Harry Vane, ſir "Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from ſir "Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whore-maſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton:—and "thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. "What ſhall "we do with this bauble?—Here take it away. It "is you," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, "that have forced me upon this. I have ſought "the Lord night and day, that he would rather "ſlay me than put me upon this work." Having com-

commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

Oliver Cromwel, in whoſe hands the diſſolution of the parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the laſt year of the former century, of a good family; though he himſelf, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. In the courſe of his education he had been ſent to the univerſity; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and he made ſmall proficiencies in his ſtudies. He even threw himſelf into a diſſolute and diſorderly courſe of life; and he conſumed in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the more early years of his youth, and diſſipated part of his patrimony. All of a ſudden, the ſpirit of reformation ſeized him; he married, affected a grave and compoſed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to reſtore to every one whatever ſums he had formerly gained by gaming. The ſame vehemence of temper, which had tranſported him into the extremes of pleaſure, now diſtinguiſhed his religious habits. His houſe was the reſort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hoſpitality, as well as his liberalities to the ſilenced and deprived miniſters, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Though he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs ſo injured by his expences, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himſelf, for ſome years, to agriculture as a profeſſion. But this expedient ſerved rather to involve him in farther debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he ſaid to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, conſumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reſerved no leiſure for the care of his temporal affairs. His active mind,

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ſuperior to the low occupations to which he was condemned, preyed upon itſelf; and he indulged his imagination in viſions, illuminations, revelations; the great nouriſhment of that hypochondriacal temper, to which he was ever ſubject. Urged by his wants and his piety, he had made a party with Hambden, his near kinſman, who was preſſed only by the latter motive to tranſport himſelf into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical party; and it was an order of council which obliged them to diſembark and remain in England. The earl of Bedford, who poſſeſſed a large eſtate in the Fen Country, near the iſle of Ely, having undertaken to drain theſe moraſſes, was obliged to apply to the king; and by the powers of the prerogative, he got commiſſioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new-acquired land among the ſeveral proprietors. He met with oppoſition from many, among whom Cromwel diſtinguiſhed himſelf; and this was the firſt public opportunity which he had met with of diſcovering the factious zeal and obſtinacy of his character.

From accident and intrigue he was choſen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament; but his perſon was ungraceful, his dreſs ſlovenly, his voice untunable, his elocution homely, tedious, obſcure, and embarraſſed; in the houſe he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hampden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold that, if a civil war enſued, he would ſoon riſe to diſtinction.

He was no leſs than forty-three years of age, when he firſt embraced the military profeſſion; and he ſoon become an excellent officer. He would not allow his ſoldiers to perplex their heads with thoſe ſubtleties of fighting by the king's authority againſt his perſon; but plainly told them, that he would fire a piſtol in the king's face, as readily as againſt any other man. He preached, he prayed, he fought,

ſought, he puniſhed, he rewarded: from low commands he roſe really to be the firſt, though in appearance only the ſecond in the army: by fraud and violence he ſoon rendered himſelf the firſt in the ſtate: in proportion to the increaſe of authority his talents ſeemed to expand themſelves. The indignation manifeſted by the people on his uſurpation was not ſo violent as might have been expected; the royaliſts expected more lenity from him than from the imperious republicans. The preſbyterians were pleaſed to ſee thoſe men by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outwitted by their own ſervant; and all parties deemed it leſs ignominious to ſubmit to a perſon of ſuch admirable talents and capacity than to a few ignoble enthuſiaſtic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel ſubjection.

The republicans were thoſe whoſe reſentment Cromwel had greateſt reaſon to apprehend. Theſe contained two ſets of men; the *Millenarians*, who expected ſuddenly the ſecond coming of Chriſt upon earth; and the *Deiſts*, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and who had no other object than political liberty. The deiſts were hated by Cromwel, who uſually denominated them *Heathens*: but as it was important to him to gain the millenarians by ſome appearance of a commonwealth; without any ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he ſent ſummons to a hundred and twenty-eight perſons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to ſix of Ireland. He pretended, by his ſole act and deed, to devolve upon theſe the whole authority of the ſtate. This legiſlative power they were to exerciſe during fifteen months, and they were afterwards to chooſe the ſame number of perſons, who might ſucceed them in that high and important office.

Theſe, ſupported by Cromwel, immediately voted themſelves a parliament. The far greater part

of them were low mechanics; and from one of the moſt noted, a leather-ſeller in London, whoſe name was *Praiſe-God Barebone*, they obtained the ridiculous appellation of Barebone's parliament. Of all the extraordinary ſchemes adopted by theſe legiſlators, they had not leiſure to finiſh any except that which eſtabliſhed the legal ſolemnization of marriage by the civil magiſtrate alone without the interpoſition of the clergy. They had refuſed to negociate with the Dutch ambaſſadors, whom they regarded as worldly-minded men: Cromwel himſelf began to be diſſatisfied, that though they derived all their authority from him, they pretended power from the Lord. He had been careful to ſummon in his writs ſeveral perſons entirely devoted to him. By concert, theſe met early; and it was mentioned by ſome among them, that the ſitting of this parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. They haſtened therefore to Cromwel, along with Rouſe, their ſpeaker; and, by a formal deed or aſſignment, reſtored into his hands that ſupreme authority which they had ſo lately received from him. General Harriſon, and about twenty more, remained in the houſe; and that they might prevent the reign of the ſaints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up proteſts. They were ſoon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers. He aſked them what they did there? "We "are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you "may go elſewhere," replied he: "for to my cer-"tain knowledge, he has not been here theſe many "years."

The military being now the ſole power in the nation, Cromwel indulged a new fancy. Lambert, his creature, propoſed in the council of officers to adopt another ſcheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be known by the appellation of *Protector*. Without delay, he prepared

prepared what was called *the inſtrument of government*, containing the plan of this new legiſlature; and, as it was ſuppoſed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared protector; and with great ſolemnity inſtalled in that high office.

By *the inſtrument of government* a council was appointed which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth: in his name was all juſtice to be adminiſtered; from him were all magiſtracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treaſon; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, reſted in him; but in theſe particulars he was to act by the advice and with the conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills, which they paſſed were to be preſented to the protector for his aſſent; but if within twenty days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A ſtanding army for Great Britain and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without conſent of the protector; and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament.

The council of ſtate named by the inſtrument were fifteen, men entirely devoted to Cromwel, who ſaid that he accepted the dignity of protector merely that he might exert the duty of a conſtable, and preſerve peace in the nation; and had he been guilty of no other crime but this temporary uſurpation, ſuch was the rage of the jarring factions, that this plea of public good might be allowed a reaſonable excuſe for his conduct.

During theſe diſtracted ſcenes the military force of England was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity. The Engliſh fleet, commanded by Monk and Dean, after an engagement of two days, in which Dean was killed, defeated the Dutch under Tromp: in a ſecond engagement, when Blake commanded the Engliſh, Tromp determined to die or to gain the victory, while he was gallantly animating his men, with his ſword drawn, was ſhot through the heart with a muſquet-ball. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the Engliſh. Though near thirty ſhips of the Dutch were ſunk and taken, they little regarded this loſs compared with that of their brave admiral.

A. D. 1654. The States, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, and mortified by their defeats, ſued for peace. A defenſive league was made between the two republics; they agreed each of them to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe who had been concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be puniſhed, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the Engliſh; eighty-five thouſand pounds were ſtipulated to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt-India company for loſſes which the Engliſh company had ſuſtained; and the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies was promiſed to be ceded to the latter.

Cromwel, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, inſiſted on a ſeparate article, that neither the young prince nor any of his family ſhould ever be inveſted with the dignity

dignity of ſtadtholder. The province of Holland, ſtrongly prejudiced againſt that office, which they eſteemed dangerous to liberty, ſecretly ratified this article. The protector, knowing that the other provinces would not be induced to make ſuch a conceſſion, was ſatisfied with the ſecurity.

Not only the ſucceſs of the Dutch war, but an act of juſtice which Cromwel exerciſed at home, gave great ſatisfaction to the people. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, fancying himſelf to be inſulted, had, with his attendants, fallen on a gentleman, whom he took for the perſon that had given him the offence, and maſſacred him; the criminals were brought to trial, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower Hill.

On aſſembling the parliament, Cromwel had occaſion to obſerve the prejudices entertained againſt his government; the manner in which he had conducted the elections had been favourable to liberty; he had deprived of their right of election all the ſmall boroughs, places the moſt expoſed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which repreſented England, 270 were choſen by the counties. The reſt were elected by London, and the more conſiderable corporations. The lower populace too, ſo eaſily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: an eſtate of two hundred pounds value was neceſſary to entitle any one to a vote.

Yet all theſe meaſures had not procured him confidence; and the parliament having heard his ſpeech of three hours length, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of that authority which Cromwel, by the title of protector, had aſſumed over the nation. Though he had obliged the members to ſign an engagement not to propoſe any alteration in the government, yet very free arguments were uſed; and on the intelligence that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome mal-

content officers, he haſtened to the diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly. By the inſtrument of government to which he had ſworn, no parliament could be diſſolved till it had ſitten five months; but Cromwel pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapſed, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confuſed, angry harangue, and diſmiſſed them.

The members, returning to their counties, propagated that ſpirit of mutiny which they had exerted in the houſe; and the royaliſts, obſerving the general ill-will towards the eſtabliſhment, could no longer be retained in ſubjection. In con-

A. D. 1655. cert with the king they appointed a day of general riſing throughout England. Information of this deſign was conveyed to Cromwel. The protector's adminiſtration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his ſecretary, had ſpies every where. Manning, who had acceſs to the king's family, kept a regular correſpondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, ſo generally diffuſed among a party who valued themſelves more on zeal and courage, than on ſecreſy and ſobriety. Many of the royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conſpiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the weſt, entered Saliſbury with about 200 horſe; at the very time when the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners; and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no acceſſion of force; ſo prevalent was the terror of the eſtabliſhed government. Having in vain wandered about for ſome time, they were totally diſcouraged;

couraged; and one troop of horſe was able at laſt to ſuppreſs them. The leaders of the conſpiracy, being taken priſoners, were capitally puniſhed. The reſt were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

After this inſurrection Cromwel kept no longer any terms with the royaliſts; he exacted the tenth penny from all the party; and by theſe oppreſſions reduced the majority of them to extreme poverty. Meanwhile the protector, from his reſtleſs geniús, extended his enterpriſes to every part of Chriſtendom. He ſeized the opportunity, while Sweden and France were engaged in diminiſhing the power of the houſe of Auſtria, to compel the French to withdraw the protection they had given to the unfortunate Charles; who ſupported himſelf at Cologn on the contributions of his friends, and on a ſmall allowance ſecretly remitted by the court of France. And he avenged ſeverely on Spain the death of his envoy, Aſcham, who was murdered at Madrid by ſome baniſhed royaliſts.

Had Cromwel indeed underſtood the intereſts of his country he would have ſupported Spain, already broken by the revolt of Portugal, againſt the dangerous ambition of France. Had he ſtudied only his own intereſt, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between thoſe great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his ill-acquired and unſettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend aſſiſtance to domeſtic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: his active diſpoſition, and avidity of extenſive glory, made him incapable of repoſe: and as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no ſooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he ſhould invade with his victorious arms.

The extenſive empire, and extreme weakneſs of Spain in the Weſt Indies, excited his ambition.

Motives of policy were probably ſeconded by thoſe of bigotry; and as the Spaniards were much more papiſts than the French, were much more expoſed to the old puritanical hatred, and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition, whoſe rigours they had refuſed to mitigate on Cromwel's ſolicitation; he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with ſuch idolaters could not fail of protection from heaven. A preacher likewiſe, inſpired, as was ſuppoſed, by a prophetic ſpirit, bid him *go and proſper*; calling him *a ſtone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniards, cruſh Antichriſt, and make way for the purity of the Goſpel over the whole world.*

Actuated by theſe hopes, the protector equipped two conſiderable ſquadrons. The firſt of theſe conſiſted of thirty ſhips under Blake, who, after having ſpread terror through the Mediterranean; after having extorted conceſſions from the duke of Tuſcany and the dey of Algiers; after having deſtroyed in their very harbours the veſſels of the pirates of Tunis, and having taken or driven on ſhore the galleons of Cadiz, determined to attack a
A.D. 1656. fleet of ſixteen Spaniſh ſhips which had taken ſhelter in the bay of Santa Cruz in the Canaries.

He found them diſpoſed in a formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured with a ſtrong caſtle, well provided with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diaques, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to Engliſh valour, and abandoned their ſhips, which were

were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They lay under the fire of the caſtles and all the forts, which muſt in a little time have torn them in pieces. But the wind ſuddenly ſhifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

This was the laſt and greateſt action of the gallant Blake. He was conſumed with a dropſy and ſcurvy, and haſtened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, which he had ſo much adorned by his valour. As he came within ſight of land he expired. Never man ſo zealous for a faction was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is ſtill our duty*, he ſaid to the ſeamen, *to fight for our country, into what hands ſoever the government may fall.* Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the moſt perfect characters of the age, and the leaſt ſtained with thoſe errors and violences which were then ſo predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honourable panegyric on his memory.

The other ſquadron which was ſent into the Weſt Indies, was not equally ſucceſsful. It was commanded by Pen and Venables; who failed in an attempt on St. Domingo; in order to atone for this miſcarriage they bent their courſe to Jamaica, which was ſurrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them ſent to the Tower, by the protector, who, though commonly maſter of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent paſſion at this diſ-

appointment. He had made a conqueſt of greater importance than he was himſelf at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vaſt projects which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to ſupport it by men and money; and that iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh; the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterpriſing ſpirit of Cromwel.

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though imprudent was full of vigour. It was his boaſt that he would render the name of an Engliſhman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found ſome reality in theſe pretenſions, their national vanity being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they laboured.

It muſt alſo be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, diſplayed as great regard both to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the ſword, could poſſibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: amidſt the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: and to every man but himſelf, and to himſelf, except where neceſſity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour.

In the army was laid the ſole baſis of the protector's powers; and in managing of it conſiſted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The ſoldiers were held in exact diſcipline, and their pay augmented. But the wild fanaticiſm he had introduced among them rendered them more difficult to be governed. Harriſon, though raiſed to the higheſt dignity, and poſſeſſed of Cromwel's confidence, became his moſt inveterate enemy as ſoon as the authority of a ſingle perſon was eſtabliſhed, againſt which that uſurper had always made ſuch violent

violent proteſtations. Overton, Lich, Okey, officers of rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them of their commiſſions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, ſeemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthuſiaſtic and ſeditious ſpirit of the troops, Cromwel eſtabliſhed a kind of militia in the ſeveral counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were inliſted under proper officers, regular pay diſtributed among them, and a reſource by that means provided both againſt the inſurrections of the royaliſts, and mutiny of the army.

Religion, during this period, may be regarded as the great ſpring of men's actions. With the pretended ſaints of all denominations Cromwel was familiar and eaſy. Laying aſide the ſtate of protector, which, on other occaſions, he well knew how to maintain, he inſinuated to them, that nothing but neceſſity could ever oblige him to inveſt himſelf with it. He talked ſpiritually to them; he ſighed, he weeped, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghoſtly gifts; and theſe men, inſtead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud that his highneſs, by his princely example, had dignified thoſe practices in which they themſelves were daily occupied.

If Cromwel might be ſaid to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independents who could chiefly boaſt of his favour. The preſbyterians he entertained a great jealouſy of: "I am the only man," he was often heard to ſay, "who has known how to ſubdue that inſolent ſect, "which can ſuffer none but itſelf."

Cromwel bridled the royaliſts, both by the army which he retained, and by thoſe ſecret ſpies which he found means to intermix in all their counſels. Manning being detected and puniſhed with death, he

he corrupted ſir Richard Willis, who was much truſted by chancellor Hyde and all the royaliſts; and by means of this man he was let into every deſign and conſpiracy of the party. He could diſconcert any project, by confining the perſons who were to be the actors in it; and as he reſtored them afterwards to liberty, his ſeverity paſſed only for the reſult of general jealouſy and ſuſpicion. The ſecret ſource of his intelligence remained ſtill unknown and unſuſpected.

Aſſaſſinations he chiefly dreaded; as he knew the minds of the royaliſts were ſufficiently enflamed to have recourſe to this practice. He openly told them, that he never would commence hoſtilities by ſo ſhameful an expedient; but if the firſt attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermoſt. He had inſtruments, he ſaid, whom he could employ; and he never would deſiſt till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the ſecurity of his perſon.

His general deportment was ſuch as might befit the greateſt monarch. He maintained a dignity without oſtentation. Among his ancient friends he could relax himſelf; and by trifling and amuſement, jeſting and making verſes, he feared not expoſing himſelf to their moſt familiar approaches. With others he ſometimes puſhed matters to the length of ruſtic buffoonery; and he would amuſe himſelf by putting burning coals into the boots and hoſe of the officers who attended him. Before the king's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government which they were to ſubſtitute in the room of the monarchical conſtitution, now totally ſubverted. After debates on this ſubject, the moſt important that could fall under the diſcuſſion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwel, by way of frolic, threw a cuſhion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cuſhion in order to return the compliment, the

the general ran down ſtairs, and had almoſt fallen in the hurry. When the high court of juſtice was ſigning the warrant for the execution of the king, a matter, if poſſible, ſtill more ſerious, Cromwel, taking the pen in his hand, before he ſubſcribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Martin, who ſat next him. And the pen being delivered to Martin, he practiſed the ſame frolic upon Cromwel. He frequently gave feaſts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was ſat upon the table, a ſignal was given, the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon them, and with much noiſe, tumult, and confuſion, ran away with all the diſhes, and diſappointed the gueſts of their expected meal.

That vein of frolic and pleaſantry which made a part, however inconſiſtent, of Cromwel's character, was apt ſometimes to betray him into other inconſiſtencies, and to diſcover itſelf even where religion might ſeem to be a little concerned. It is a tradition, that, one day, ſitting at table, the protector had a bottle of wine brought him, of a kind which he valued ſo highly, that he muſt needs open the bottle himſelf: but in attempting it, the cork-ſcrew dropt from his hand. Immediately his courtiers and generals flung themſelves on the floor to recover it. Cromwel burſt out a-laughing. *Should any fool,* ſaid he, *put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your poſture, that you were ſeeking the Lord; and you are only ſeeking a cork-ſcrew.*

Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwel had reduced thoſe kingdoms to a total ſubjection. The civil adminiſtration of Scotland was placed in a council moſtly Engliſh. A long line of forts was maintained throughout the kingdom; and an army of 10,000 men kept every thing in obedience.

The government of Ireland was more violent; it was latterly entruſted to Henry Cromwel, the ſecond ſon of the protector, a young man of a mild diſpoſition, and not deſtitute of vigour. About five

five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popiſh rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had arrears due to them.

Cromwel, truſting to the ſucceſs that had attended his adminiſtration, had ſummoned a parliament; yet though he had uſed every art to influence the elections, he found a majority unfavourable to him. He therefore placed guards at the door, who ſuffered none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; by this act of violence he obtained an aſcendancy in their deliberations. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family; and this was the firſt act, dignified with the appearance of national conſent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephſon, in order to ſound the inclinations of the houſe, ventured to move that the parliament ſhould beſtow the crown on Cromwel; and no ſurpriſe or reluctance was diſcovered on the occaſion. When Cromwel afterwards aſked Jephſon what induced him to make ſuch a motion, "As long," ſaid Jephſon. "as I "have the honour to ſit in parliament, I muſt fol- "low the dictates of my own conſcience, whatever "offence I may be ſo unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," ſaid Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on the ſhoulder "get thee gone for a "mad fellow as thou art."

At length a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for inveſting the protector with the dignity of king. The chief oppoſition came from the uſual adherents of the protector, the officers. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great intereſt in the army, had long entertained the ambition of ſucceeding Cromwel in the protectorſhip. He foreſaw with the monarchy, that hereditary right would be reſtored; he therefore raiſed up a numerous and formidable party againſt the motion. While the royaliſts gave

it their ſupport, in hopes that when the queſtion regarded only perſons, not forms of government, no one could any longer balance between the ancient royal family, and an ignorant uſurper.

The bill was voted by a conſiderable majority; and a committee was appointed to overcome the ſcruples which Cromwel pretended againſt accepting ſo liberal an offer. The conference laſted ſeveral days. An exact account of it remains, and may be regarded as a great curioſity. The committee in the reaſoning diſcovered judgment, knowledge, and elocution. But what a contraſt when we paſs to the protector's replies! After ſo ſingular a manner does Nature diſtribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with ſenſe and learning, a man who, by ſuperior perſonal merit alone, had made his way to ſupreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expreſſing himſelf on this occaſion, but in a manner which a peaſant of the moſt ordinary capacity would juſtly be aſhamed of. A. D. 1657.

The oppoſition which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to deprive of all power and authority: it was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by intereſt as well as inclination, were the moſt devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter: Deſborow his ſiſter: yet theſe men, actuated by principle alone, could by no perſuaſion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to conſent that their friend and patron ſhould be inveſted with regal dignity. They told him, that if he accepted of the crown, they would inſtantly throw up their commiſſions, and never afterwards ſhould have it in their power to ſerve him. Colonel Pride procured a petition againſt the office of king, ſigned by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the

the neighbourhood. Several perſons, it is ſaid, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he ſhould have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some ſudden mutiny in the army was juſtly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at laſt obliged to refuſe that crown, which the repreſentatives of the nation, in the moſt ſolemn manner, had tendered to him. Moſt hiſtorians are inclined to blame his choice; but he muſt be allowed the beſt judge of his own ſituation. And in ſuch complicated ſubjects, the alteration of a very minute circumſtance, unknown to the ſpectator, will often be ſufficient to caſt the balance, and render a determination, which, in itſelf, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even abſolutely neceſſary to the actor.

The parliament found themſelves obliged to maintain the name of a commonwealth, and a protector. They offered to the latter *the humble petition and advice*, which was regarded as the great baſis of republican government. It gave to Cromwel the power of nominating a ſucceſſor, and aſſigned him a perpetual revenue for the pay of the fleet and army. But it deprived him of the claim in intervals of parliament of framing laws with the conſent of his council; and it eſtabliſhed that no members of either houſe ſhould be excluded, but by the conſent of that houſe of which they were members.

The parliament having adjourned, Cromwel deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions. About the ſame time he alſo introduced at court his eldeſt ſon Richard, a perſon of a moſt inoffenſive character, who had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a ſmall eſtate that his wife brought him. All the activity he had diſcovered was, however, exerted to beneficent purpoſes; and at the time of the king's trial he had conjured his father, by every tie of duty and humanity, to ſpare the life of that monarch.

The

The parliament was again aſſembled, and conſiſted of two houſes. A. D. 1658
The five or ſix ancient peers, who were ſummoned to the lords, refuſed to take their places with the new companions Cromwel had aſſigned them. The protector endeavoured at firſt to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate. He placed no guards at the door of either houſe; but he ſoon found how incompatible liberty is with military uſurpation. An inconteſtable majority in the commons declared againſt him. Dreading combinations between the parliament and the mal-contents in the army, he reſolved to allow no leiſure for forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and, with expreſſions of great diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore, by the living God, that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer.

Theſe diſtractions at home were not able to take off the protector's attention from foreign affairs. He was particularly deſirous of conqueſt and dominion on the continent; and he ſent over into Flanders ſix thouſand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into the hands of the Engliſh. Early this campaign ſiege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spaniſh army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated. The valour of the Engliſh was much remarked on this occaſion. Dunkirk, being ſoon after ſurrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of abilities, who had married his niece, and was his ambaſſador at the court of France.

The protector reaped little ſatisfaction from the ſucceſs of his arms abroad. The ſituation in which

he ſtood at home kept him in perpetual inquietude. The royaliſts he heard had renewed their conſpiracies; and the preſbyterians had ſecretly entered into the engagement. The conſpiracy of the royaliſts was, however, diſcovered by Willis. Great numbers were thrown into priſon; and ſir Henry Slingſby and Dr. Huet were condemned and beheaded.

The turbulent diſpoſition of the army ſtill alarmed the protector; nor was he without conſtant dread of aſſaſſination: he might have better ſupported theſe fears had he enjoyed any domeſtic ſatisfaction. But Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, actuated by the wildeſt zeal, began to eſtrange himſelf from him; his eldeſt daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles, ſo that ſhe could not bear power lodged in a ſingle perſon, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no leſs prejudiced in favour of the royal cauſe. Above all, the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favourite, a lady endowed with many humane virtues and amiable accompliſhments, depreſſed his anxious mind, and poiſoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refuſed his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, increaſed by her diſtempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his ſanguinary meaſures, and urge him to compunction for thoſe heinous crimes into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed ſoon after, gave new edge to every word which ſhe had uttered.

All compoſure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: he ſaw nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies. He found his power depend on ſo delicate a poiſe that the ſmalleſt event might overturn. Death too which he had braved in the field, haunted him in every ſcene of buſineſs or repoſe. He never moved a ſtep without ſtrong guards attending him: he wore armour

mour under his clothes, and farther ſecured himſelf by offenſive weapons, a ſword, falchion, and piſtols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the ſame way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber: and he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to chooſe, nor entruſted himſelf in any which was not provided with back doors, at which centinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: ſolitude aſtoniſhed him, by withdrawing that protection which he found ſo neceſſary for his ſecurity.

His body alſo, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health ſeemed ſenſibly to decline. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the ſpace of a week no dangerous ſymptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increaſed, and he himſelf began to entertain ſome thoughts of death, and to caſt his eye toward that future exiſtence, whoſe idea had once been intimately preſent to him; though ſince, in the hurry of affairs, and in the ſhock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been conſiderably obliterated. He aſked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or ſuffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then am I ſafe," ſaid the protector: "for I "am ſure that once I was in a ſtate of grace."

His phyſicians were ſenſible of the perilous condition to which his diſtemper had reduced him: but his chaplains, by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable anſwer, it was pretended, had been returned by heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he

relied on their aſſeverations much more than on the opinion of the moſt experienced phyſicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I tell you I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: I am "well aſſured of my recovery. It is promiſed by "the Lord, not only to my ſupplications, but to "thoſe of men who hold a ſtricter commerce and "more intimate correſpondence with him. Ye "may have ſkill in your profeſſion; but nature can "do more than all the phyſicians in the world, and "God is far above nature." Nay, to ſuch a degree of madneſs did their enthuſiaſtic aſſurances mount, that, upon a faſt day, which was obſerved on his account both at Hampton-court and at Whitehall, they did not ſo much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges which they had received of his recovery. He himſelf was overheard offering up his addreſſes to heaven; and ſo far had the illuſions of fanaticiſm prevailed over the plaineſt dictates of natural morality, that he aſſumed more the character of a mediator, in interceding for his people, than that of a criminal whoſe atrocious violation of ſocial duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the ſevereſt vengeance.

Meanwhile all the ſymptoms began to wear a more fatal aſpect; and the phyſicians were obliged to break ſilence, and to declare, that the protector could not ſurvive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was ſent to know his will with regard to his ſucceſſor. His ſenſes were gone, and he could not now expreſs his intentions. They aſked him whether he did not mean that his eldeſt ſon, Richard, ſhould ſucceed him in the protectorſhip. A ſimple affirmative was, or ſeemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day which he had always conſidered as the moſt fortunate for him, he expired. A violent tempeſt, which immediately ſucceeded his death, ſerved as a ſubject

of diſcourſe to the vulgar. His partiſans, as well as his enemies, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

The writers attached to the memory of this wonderful perſon, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the moſt extravagant panegyric. His enemies form ſuch a repreſentation of his moral qualities as reſembles the moſt virulent invective: great courage, ſignal military talents, and eminent dexterity and addreſs, were doubtleſs requiſite to advance him to high command and authority in the army. But poſſeſſed of that authority, neither the king nor the republicans had any means of reſiſting the force he directed. And if he ſeduced the military fanatics, it is to be conſidered, that his intereſts and theirs evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education expoſed them to the groſſeſt impoſition, and that he himſelf was at bottom as frantic an enthuſiaſt as the worſt of them.

The domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel, though it diſcovered great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power. His foreign enterpriſes, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to the national intereſt. He, however, poſſeſſed a ſuperior genius, though unequal and irregular in its operations: yet what moſt was to be admired in him, was his peculiar dexterity in diſcovering the characters, and practiſing on the weakneſſes of mankind.

The private deportment of Cromwel, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a friend, is expoſed to no conſiderable cenſure, if it does not rather merit praiſe. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unuſual by the mixture of ſo much abſurdity with ſo much penetration, than by his tempering ſuch violent ambition and ſuch enraged fanaticiſm with ſo much regard to juſtice and humanity.

Cromwel was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robuſt frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aſpect. He left only two ſons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Fauconberg, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey. She could not be perſuaded that his power or perſon was ever in ſafety. At every noiſe which ſhe heard, ſhe exclaimed, that her ſon was murdered; and was never ſatisfied that he was alive, if ſhe did not receive frequent viſits from him. She was a decent woman; and, by her frugality and induſtry, had raiſed and educated a numerous family upon a ſmall fortune. She had even been obliged to ſet up a brewery at Huntingdon, which ſhe managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often ſtigmatiſed with the name of the brewer. Ludlow, by way of inſult, mentions the great acceſſion, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who poſſeſſed a jointure of ſixty pounds a year upon his eſtate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by ſome ſuppoſed, to the royal family.

The religious ſects that ſprung up during the civil commotions of England, are too numerous to be ſpecified; but the quakers, if not ſo conſiderable, are at leaſt ſo ſingular as to deſerve attention. The founder of them was George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire, the ſon of a weaver, and the apprentice of a ſhoemaker. He left his maſter to wander about the country in a leathern doublet, which he long affected as well for its ſingularity, as its cheapneſs. To wean himſelf from ſublunary objects he broke all connexions with his friends and family; and frequently wandered among the woods, where he paſſed whole days in hollow trees, without company,

pany, or any other amuſement than his bible. When he had been ſufficiently conſecrated in his own imagination, he began to ſeek proſelytes. In this purſuit he rapidly ſucceeded; his followers carefully rejected all forms of ceremony and diſtinction; the name of *friend* was the ſalutation with which they accoſted every one; *thou* and *thee* were their modes of addreſs; they were perfectly ſimple in their apparel; and carried their morals to the ſame degree of extravagance as their religion. Give a quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: aſk his cloke, he gave you his coat alſo: the greateſt intereſt could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to ſwear even to the truth: he never aſked more for his wares than the preciſe ſum which he was determined to accept. This laſt maxim is laudable, and continues ſtill to be religiouſly obſerved by that ſect.

Of taxes in England during this period, the chief were the monthly aſſeſſments, the exciſe, and the cuſtoms. The aſſeſſments were levied on perſonal eſtates as well as on land; and commiſſioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The higheſt aſſeſſment amounted to 120,000 pounds a-month in England; the loweſt was 35,000. The aſſeſſments in Scotland were ſometimes 10,000 pounds a-month; commonly 6000. Thoſe on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a-year. The exciſe, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, fleſh-meat, as well as beer, ale, ſtrong-waters, and many other commodities. After the king was ſubdued, bread and fleſh-meat were exempted from exciſe. The cuſtoms on exportation were lowered in 1656. In 1650 commiſſioners were appointed to levy both cuſtoms and exciſes. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thouſand pounds were then offered, both for cuſtoms and exciſe, a greater ſum than had ever been levied by the commiſſioners: the whole of the taxes dur-

ing that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a-year; a ſum which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king. Sequeſtrations, compoſitions, ſale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded alſo conſiderable ſums, but very difficult to be eſtimated. Church lands are ſaid to have been ſold for a million. None of theſe were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchaſe. The eſtates of delinquents amounted to above 200,000 pounds a-year. Cromwel died more than two millions in debt: though the parliament had left him in the treaſury above 500,000 pounds; and in ſtores, the value of 700,000 pounds.

The committee of danger in April 1648 voted to raiſe the army to 40,000 men. The ſame year, the pay of the army was eſtimated at 80,000 pounds a-month. The eſtabliſhment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland 15,000 foot, 2580 horſe, 560 dragoons; in England, 4700 foot, 2520 horſe, garriſons 6154. In all 31,519, beſides officers. The army in Scotland was afterwards conſiderably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much ſhort of 20,000 men; ſo that upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a ſtanding army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly ſum of 1,047,715 pounds. Afterwards the protector reduced the eſtabliſhment to 30,000 men, as appears by the Inſtrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice.

The commerce and induſtry of England increaſed extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: the trade to the Eaſt-Indies and to Guinea became conſiderable. The Engliſh poſſeſſed almoſt the ſole trade with Spain. Twenty thouſand cloths were annually ſent to Turkey. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulſions which afterwards prevailed; though it ſoon recovered after the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by diſtreſſ-

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ing the commerce of ſo formidable a rival, ſerved to encourage trade in England: the Spaniſh war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the Engliſh merchants, to an immenſe value, were confiſcated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants; and commerce has ever ſince been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The excluſive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expreſsly aboliſhed by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men payed no regard to the prerogative whence the charters of theſe companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increaſed by the increaſe of liberty. Intereſt in 1650 was reduced to ſix per cent.

The cuſtoms in England, before the civil wars, are ſaid to have amounted to 500,000 pounds a-year: a ſum ten times greater than during the beſt period in queen Elizabeth's reign: but there is probably ſome exaggeration in this matter.

The poſt-houſe in 1653, was farmed at 10,000 pounds a-year, which was deemed a conſiderable ſum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half the preſent poſtage.

From 1619 to 1638 there had been coined 6,900,042 pounds. From 1638 to 1657 the coinage amounted to 7,733,521 pounds. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the regiſters of the mint, that between 1558 and 1659 there had been coined 19,832,476 pounds in gold and ſilver.

The firſt mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660. Aſparagus, artichoaks, colliflower, and a variety of ſallads, were about the ſame time introduced into England.

Cromwel, though ignorant himſelf, was not inſenſible to literary merit. Uſher, notwithſtanding his being a biſhop, received a penſion from him. Marvel and Milton were in his ſervice; and Waller,

who was his relation, was greatly careſſed by him. Of theſe, the genius of Milton burſt forth with ſuperior luſtre. Yet all his poems are not equal: his Paradiſe Loſt, his Comus, and a few others, ſhine out amidſt ſome flat and inſipid compoſitions: even in the Paradiſe Loſt, his capital performance, there are very long paſſages, amounting to near a third of the work, almoſt wholly deſtitute of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigour of imagination. This natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increaſed by the inequalities in his ſubject; of which ſome parts are of themſelves the moſt lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the moſt laboured elegance of compoſition to ſupport them. It was during a ſtate of poverty, blindneſs, diſgrace, dangers, and old age, that Milton compoſed his wonderful poem; which not only ſurpaſſed all the performances of his cotemporaries, but all the compoſitions which had flowed from his pen, during the vigour of his age and the height of his proſperity. This circumſtance is not the leaſt remarkable of all thoſe which attend that great genius. He died in 1674, aged 66.

Waller was the firſt refiner of Engliſh poetry; and Cowley, in the ſame walk, frequently diſplays great ingenuity, and vigour of thought. The palm of hiſtory is due to Clarendon; and in ſcience, Harvey is entitled to the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood. But no perſon in that age was more celebrated than Hobbes: he wrote againſt revealed religion; but the boldneſs of his opinions ſeem to have formed their chief recommendation; and in the purity of a later period, his works have been as much neglected as they were once eſteemed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

CHARLES II.

Richard acknowledged Protector.—Cabal of Wallingford-House.—Richard depoſed.—Long Parliament reſtored.—Inſurrection of the Royaliſts.—They are ſuppreſſed.—Parliament expelled.—Committee of Safety.—General Monk.—He declares for the Parliament.—Parliament reſtored.—Monk enters London.—Long Parliament diſſolved.—New Parliament.—The Reſtoration.—New Miniſtry.—Act of Indemnity.—Settlement of the Revenue.—Trial and Execution of the Regicides.—Diſſolution of the Convention.—Parliament.—Prelacy reſtored.—Affairs of Scotland.—A new Parliament.—Biſhops' Seats reſtored.—Corporation Act.—Act of Uniformity.—King's Marriage.—Trial of Vane—his Execution.—Dunkirk ſold to the French.

ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been ſo often practiſed, that they began to loſe their effect; ſuch difficulties ſurrounded him, that it was thought that all his courage and dexterity could not longer have extended his uſurped adminiſtration. But when that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a ſudden diſſolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard was a young man without experience, and poſſeſſed only of the virtues of private life; yet his ſucceſſion was recognized by the council: Henry, his brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, A.D. 1658.

enſured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, who was much attached to the family of Cromwel, proclaimed in Scotland the new protector; above ninety addreſſes congratulated him on his acceſſion; and Richard, whoſe unambitious character would never have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of the rich inheritance which ſeemed tendered to him by the common conſent of mankind.

A. D. 1659. It was neceſſary to call a new parliament; and in hopes of obtaining greater influence in elections, the ancient right was reſtored to all the ſmall boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their uſual members. The houſe of peers, or the other houſe, conſiſted of the ſame perſons that had been appointed by Oliver.

All the commons, at firſt, ſigned without heſitation, an engagement not to alter the preſent government. They next proceeded to examine *the humble petition and advice*; and after great oppoſition and many vehement debates, it was at length, with much difficulty, carried by the court party to confirm it. An acknowledgement too of the authority of the other houſe was extorted from them; though it was reſolved not to treat this houſe of peers with any greater reſpect than they ſhould return to the commons. A declaration was alſo made, that the eſtabliſhment of the other houſe ſhould no wiſe prejudice the right of ſuch of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament. But in all theſe proceedings, the oppoſition among the commons was ſo conſiderable, and the debates were ſo much prolonged, that all buſineſs was retarded, and great alarm given to the partiſans of the young protector.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were juſtly apprehended. The moſt conſiderable officers of the army, with Fleetwood, the brother-in-law to the protector, were entering into cabals

cabals againſt him; Deſborow, his uncle, lent his authority to this faction: and Lambert, who was now rouſed from his retreat, inflamed all thoſe dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with ſome great convulſion. The diſcontented officers eſtabliſhed their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and becauſe he dwelt in Wallingford-houſe, the party received a denomination from that place.

Richard, who poſſeſſed neither reſolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give an unguarded conſent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him propoſals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No ſooner were they aſſembled, than they voted a remonſtrance. They there lamented, that *the good old cauſe*, as they termed it, that is, the cauſe for which they had engaged againſt the late king, was entirely neglected; and they propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power ſhould be entruſted to ſome perſon, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expreſſed the ſame reſolution of adhering to *the good old cauſe*.

Some of the partiſans of the protector offered to put an end to theſe intrigues by the death of Lambert; but Richard declared that he would not purchaſe power by ſuch ſanguinary meaſures. A vote of the parliament, that there ſhould be no general council of officers but with the protector's conſent, brought affairs to a rupture. The officers haſtened to Richard, and demanded the diſſolution of the parliament; he wanted reſolution to deny, and had little ability to reſiſt. The parliament was diſſolved; and by the ſame act, the protector was, by every one, conſidered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he ſigned his demiſſion in form.

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the ſame moderate diſpoſition as Richard; but as he poſſeſſed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended that he might make reſiſtance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his perſonal

ſonal authority, notwithſtanding his youth, was conſiderable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create diſturbance: but being threatened by ſir Hardreſs Waller, colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly reſigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not reſolution to execute, of proclaiming the king in Dublin.

Thus fell ſuddenly, and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to poſſeſs an eſtate which was moderate, and burthened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the reſtoration, though he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel for ſome years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced, under a borrowed name, to the prince of Conti. That prince, talking of Engliſh affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," ſaid he, "what is become of him? how could "he be ſuch a blockhead as to reap no greater "benefit from all his father's crimes and ſucceſſes?" yet Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His ſocial virtues, more valuable than the greateſt capacity, met with a recompence, more precious than noiſy fame, and more ſuitable, contentment and tranquillity.

The council of officers in whom the ſupreme authority was now lodged, agreed to preſerve the ſhadow of civil adminiſtration, and to revive the long parliament. The numbers of this parliament were ſmall, not exceeding ſeventy; but being all of them men of violent ambition, they reſolved not to act the ſubordinate part that had been deſigned them. They choſe a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-houſe ſhould not

not be the majority: they appointed Fleetwood lieutenant general, but inſerted in his commiſſion, that he ſhould only continue during the pleaſure of the houſe: they choſe ſeven perſons, who ſhould nominate to ſuch commands as became vacant: and they voted, that all commiſſions ſhould be received from the ſpeaker, and be ſigned by him in the name of the houſe. Theſe precautions, the tendency of which was viſible, gave great diſguſt to the general officers; and their diſcontent would immediately have broken out into ſome reſolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehenſions of danger from the common enemy.

The dominion of this pretended parliament was equally odious both to the preſbyterians and the royaliſts; and ſeveral of the moſt eminent of theſe parties prepared to break their chains by force. But the combination was diſconcerted by the infidelity of ſir Richard Willis, who continued with the parliament the ſame correſpondence that he had begun with Cromwel. On his information, many of the conſpirators were thrown into priſon; and of all the projects, the only one that took effect, was that of ſir George Booth, for the ſeizing of Cheſter. He ſoon ſubdued all the neighbourhood; but his ſucceſs was rapid and tranſient; Lambert, by the order of the parliament, marched againſt him. Booth imprudently ventured himſelf out of the walls of Cheſter, and expoſed, in the open field, his raw troops againſt theſe hardy veterans. He was ſoon routed and taken priſoner. His whole army was diſperſed. And the parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the jails with their open or ſecret enemies. Deſigns were even entertained of tranſporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies; leſt they ſhould propagate in England children of the ſame malignant affections with themſelves.

This

This victory haſtened the ruin of the parliament. At the inſtigation of Lambert a petition was ſigned by the officers, that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborow lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Monk major-general of the foot. The parliament, in reply, voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treaſon to levy any money without conſent of parliament.

But theſe votes were feeble weapons in oppoſition to the ſwords of the ſoldiery. Lambert drew ſome troops together, in order to decide the controverſy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the aſſiſtance of the parliament, was deſerted by them. Morley and Moſs brought their regiments into Palace-yard, reſolute to oppoſe the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an eaſy way of diſappointing them. He placed his ſoldiers in the ſtreets which lead to Weſtminſter-hall. When the ſpeaker came in his coach, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, obſerving that they were expoſed to deriſion, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterpriſe, a ſolemn faſt had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the uſual prelude to every ſignal violence which they committed.

The officers found themſelves again inveſted with ſupreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the ſubſtance, however they might beſtow on others the empty ſhadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign authority; and they called them a *committee of ſafety*. They ſpoke every where of ſummoning a parliament choſen by the people; but they really took ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a military parliament, compoſed of officers

cers elected from every regiment in the ſervice. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody maſſacre and extermination; to the reſt of the people, of perpetual ſervitude, beneath thoſe ſanctified robbers, whoſe union and whoſe diviſions would be equally deſtructive, and who, under pretence of ſuperior illuminations, would ſoon extirpate, if poſſible, all private morality, as they had already done all public law and juſtice from the Britiſh dominions.

The parliament, while it preſerved authority, had reſolved, in conjunction with the Dutch commonwealth, to mediate by force an accommodation between the crowns of Sweden and of Denmark. For this purpoſe Montague was ſent with a ſquadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambaſſador Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican. Sidney found the Swediſh monarch employed in the ſiege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleaſed, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progreſs of royal victories, and diſplay in ſo ſignal a manner the ſuperiority of freedom above tyranny. With the higheſt indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to ſubmit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths. "It is cruel," ſaid he, "that laws ſhould be "preſcribed me by parricides and pedlars." But his whole army was encloſed in an iſland, and might be ſtarved by the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had ſo nearly gotten poſſeſſion of it: and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he ſoon after died.

The wars between France and Spain were alſo concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. And Charles, during the negociation between the miniſters, Mazarine and Don Louis de Haro, had preſented himſelf at the Iſle of Pheaſants, where the congreſs

congreſs was held, in hopes of being reſtored to his throne by foreign ſuccours: but ſo deſperate did his condition appear, that the cautious Mazarine, though the king offered to marry his neice, refuſed to ſee him; and though Don Louis received him with the civility peculiar to his nation, he acknowledged the inability of Spain to afford him aſſiſtance.

But amidſt the moſt gloomy proſpects of Charles, fortune was preparing a way for him to mount in peace the throne of his anceſtors; and it was by the prudence and loyalty of general Monk that this happy change was at laſt accompliſhed.

George Monk, to whom the fate was reſerved of re-eſtabliſhing the monarchy, was the ſecond ſon of a family in Devonſhire, honourable, but ſomewhat gone to decay: he had early ſought military experience in the Low Countries; and on the commencement of the civil war, he was employed againſt the Iriſh rebels, and ſoon obtained a regiment. He was much noticed for his ſkill and deliberate valour; by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good will of the ſoldiery; who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, uſually called him *honeſt George Monk*; an honourable appellation, which they ſtill continued to him, even during his greateſt elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were inflamed into rage againſt the oppoſite faction, he fell under ſuſpicion from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Iriſh army was called over into England, ſurmiſes of this kind had been ſo far credited, that he had even been ſuſpended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might anſwer the charge laid againſt him. His eſtabliſhed character for truth and ſincerity here ſtood him in great ſtead; and upon his earneſt proteſtations and declarations, he was ſoon reſtored to his regiment, which he joined at the ſiege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royaliſts, commanded by Byron, and took colonel

colonel Monk priſoner. He was ſent to the Tower, where he endured, about two years, all the rigours of poverty and confinement. The king, however, was ſo mindful as to ſend him, notwithſtanding his own difficulties, a preſent of 100 guineas; but it was not till after the royaliſts were totally ſubdued that he recovered his liberty. Monk, however diſtreſſed, had always refuſed the moſt inviting offers from the parliament: but Cromwel, ſenſible of his merit, having ſolicited him to engage in the wars againſt the Iriſh, who were conſidered as rebels both by the king and parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command which, he flattered himſelf, was reconcilable to the ſtricteſt principles of honour. Having once engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himſelf neceſſitated to fight both againſt the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and againſt the king himſelf in Scotland. Upon the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk was left with the ſupreme command; and by the equality and juſtice of his adminiſtration, he was able to give contentment to that reſtleſs people, now reduced to ſubjection by a nation whom they hated. No leſs acceptable was his authority to the officers and ſoldiers; and foreſeeing, that the good will of the army under his command might ſome time be of great ſervice to him, he had, with much care and ſucceſs, cultivated their friendſhip.

The connexions he had formed with Cromwel preſerved him faithful to Richard; but when the long parliament was reſtored, he was prepared for reſiſtance. He therefore acknowledged their authority, and when they were expelled pretended to vindicate their invaded privileges: his jealouſy of Lambert, whoſe rival he was conſidered, confirmed him in this deſign; but as little friendſhip ſubſiſted between him and the parliamentary leaders, it was ſecretly believed that he would not labour for their advantage; and the king's reſtoration on his own

advancement, were ſuſpected to be the motives of his actions.

His elder and younger brothers, as well as his relations the Granvilles, were devoted to the royal cauſe; and the natural moderation of his temper, with his age, which began to be on the decline, ſet bounds to his perſonal ambition; yet though it is probable that he early entertained the idea of reſtoring monarchy, the reſerve and ſecreſy he acted with has expoſed his conduct to ſome ſuſpicion.

Sir John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's ſervice, ſent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be ſeen for ſome hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partiſan of the king's. The doctor, having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there ſhould be occaſion, to ſecond his applications. At laſt, the general arrives; the brothers embrace; and, after ſome preliminary converſation, the doctor opens his buſineſs. Monk interrupted him, to know whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the ſubject. "To no body," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I know to "be entirely in your confidence." The general, altering his countenance, turned the diſcourſe; and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but ſent him away with the firſt opportunity. He would not truſt his own brother the moment he knew that he had diſcloſed the ſecret; though to a man whom he himſelf could have truſted."

His conduct in all other particulars was full of the ſame reſerve and prudence. He caſhiered all the officers of his army of whom he entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion. Hearing Lambert was advancing north-

northwards, he affected to treat with the committee of ſafety; though he diſavowed a treaty which had been ſigned by his own commiſſioners, he ſtill continued his pacific intentions; and appointed Newcaſtle for a ſecond negociation. The committee fell into the ſnare; they found themſelves indeed ſurrounded by inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy, and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt neceſſities. While Lambert's forces were aſſembling at Newcaſtle, Hazelrig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party, ſent to ſuppreſs them, was perſuaded by their commander to join in the ſame declaration. The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, a man who from the profeſſion of a cobler had riſen to a high rank in the army, the city ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous diſcontent. It even eſtabliſhed a kind of ſeparate government, and aſſumed the ſupreme authority within itſelf. Admiral Lawſon with his ſquadron came into the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portſmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city being ſolicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered by the committee of ſafety, revolted again to the parliament. Deſborow's regiment, being ſent by Lambert to ſupport his friends, no ſooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the ſame aſſembly.

Fleetwood was found too weak to ſupport this ill-founded fabric. When any of his friends exhorted him to more vigour, they could get no other anſwer, than that God had ſpitten in his face, and would not hear him. Meantime the parliament re-aſſumed its authority, and revoked the commiſſion of Lambert, who finding himſelf preſſed by Monk in front, A. D. 1660.

who had paſſed the Tweed, and menaced by lord Fairfax, who had raiſed forces and poſſeſſed himſelf of York, and being alſo deſerted by his own ſoldiers, ſuffered himſelf to be arreſted, and to be committed to the Tower.

Monk, though informed of the reſtoration of the parliament, ſtill continued to advance with his army, which conſiſted of near 6000 men. In his march he received, though he affected not to liſten to, the addreſſes which were preſented to him for the ſettlement of the nation, either by reſtoring of thoſe members, who had been ſecluded before the king's death, or by the election of a new parliament. With very few interruptions he reached St. Albans, whence he ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring that thoſe regiments which had lately offered violence to that aſſembly; and on this being complied with, he reſumed his march, and took up his quarters in Weſtminſter.

On his being introduced to the houſe, and on thanks being given him for the ſervices that he had rendered his country, he anſwered in the ſame reſerved manner that he had acted. He ſaid he had only performed his duty; he had been the ſimple inſtrument of providence for their reſtoration; but he conſidered this ſervice as a ſtep only to more important ſervices, which it was *their* part to render to the nation: that while on his march, he obſerved all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, after the violent convulſions to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of that bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had ſtill told the petitioners, that the parliament itſelf, which was now free, and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all theſe meaſures,

meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: that though he expreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted the more comprehenſive would their plan prove, and the more ſatisfaction would it give to the nation: and that it was ſufficient for public ſecurity, if the fanatical party and the royaliſts were excluded; ſince the principles of theſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty.

This ambiguous conduct he was not allowed long to preſerve: the common council of London had declared, that till a free parliament impoſed taxes they never ſhould deem it their duty to make any payment. On this Monk received orders to march into the city; to ſeize twelve perſons, the moſt obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets; and to take down and break the port-culliſes and gates of the city: and very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of theſe violent orders. To the great ſurpriſe and conſternation of all men, Monk prepared himſelf for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonſtrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proſcribed perſons, whom he ſent to the Tower; with all the circumſtances of contempt he broke the gates and portculliſes; and having expoſed the city to the ſcorn and deriſion of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter.

He had no ſooner leiſure to reflect, than he found that this laſt meaſure had broke through the general ambiguity of his character, and had made him the tool of a parliament that had long been odious. To repair his fault before it was too late, he wrote a letter to the houſe, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane

and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition preſented by Praiſe-god-Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole commonwealth, to iſſue writs, within a week, for the filling of their houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution and the aſſembling of a new parliament. Having diſpatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his ſincerity, he marched with his army into the city, and deſired Allen, the mayor, to ſummon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; aſſured them of his perſeverance in the meaſures which he had adopted; and deſired that they might mutually plight their faith for a ſtrict union between city and army, in every enterpriſe for the happineſs and ſettlement of the commonwealth.

It would be difficult to deſcribe the joy that this intelligence conveyed; his ſincerity was evinced by his refuſing to receive a deputation from the parliament. Having eſtabliſhed a cloſe correſpondence with the city, he returned with his army to Weſtminſter. He incited the ſecluded members to enter the houſe, who, protected by the general, took their ſeats, and ſoon appeared the majority: they gave liberty to ſir George Booth and his party; renewed the general's commiſſion, and enlarged his powers; and iſſued writs for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament.

Amidſt all theſe ſteps Monk ſtill maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth; and it was with a private gentleman of Devonſhire, of the name of Morrice, a perſon of a ſedentary and ſtudious diſpoſition, that he alone deliberated concerning the great enterpriſe which he had projected. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the king, applied to Morrice for acceſs to the general; but received for anſwer, that the general deſired

ſired him to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refuſed to deliver his meſſage to any but Monk himſelf; and this cautious politician, finding him now a perſon whoſe ſecreſy could be ſafely truſted, admitted him to his preſence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he ſcrupled to commit any thing to writing: he delivered only a verbal meſſage by Granville; aſſuring the king of his ſervices, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. He was apprehenſive leſt Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed theſe directions, and very narrowly eſcaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and reſpect, been arreſted by the Spaniards.

The elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the king; the preſbyterians and royaliſts being united called aloud for his reſtoration; in Ireland alſo the ſame ſentiments prevailed; and lord Broghill, and ſir Charles Coote, the preſidents of Munſter and Connaught, had already entered into a correſpondence with him. Yet one accident had near blaſted all theſe promiſing views; the republican party, deſperate themſelves, inſinuated to the troops that all thoſe brave actions which they had performed during the war would expoſe them to the ſevereſt vengeance of the royaliſts. While the ſoldiers were impreſſed by this argument, Lambert eſcaped from the Tower; but he was overtaken and arreſted at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled only four troops of horſe. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party were taken priſoners with him. All the roads were full of ſoldiers haſtening to join them. In a few days they had been formidable. And it was thought, that it might prove dangerous for Monk himſelf to have aſſembled any conſiderable body of

his republican army for their ſuppreſſion: ſo that nothing could be more happy than the ſudden extinction of this riſing flame.

When the parliament met, they choſe as ſpeaker ſir Harbottle Grimſtone, who had long been eſteemed affectionate to the king's ſervice; and the general, having ſounded the inclinations of the aſſembly, gave directions to Anneſley, preſident of the council, to inform them, that one ſir John Granville, a ſervant of the king's, had been ſent over by his majeſty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. The loudeſt acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: the letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an anſwer: and in order to ſpread the ſame ſatisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration ſhould immediately be publiſhed.

The declaration was calculated to augment the ſatisfaction that the conduct of Monk had inſpired; it offered a general amneſty, with only ſuch exceptions as ſhould afterwards be made by parliament: it promiſed liberty of conſcience; and aſſured the ſoldiers of all their arrears, with the ſame pay they then enjoyed.

The lords, perceiving the ſpirit by which the kingdom, as well as the commons was animated, haſtened to reinſtate themſelves in their ancient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation. They found the doors of their houſe open; and all were admitted; even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

The two houſes attended; while the king was proclaimed with great ſolemnity in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar. The commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious meſſages: a pre-

a preſent of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the king, 10,000 pounds on the duke of York, 5000 pounds on the duke of Gloceſter. A committee of lords and commons was diſpatched to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of the government.

The reſpect of foreign powers ſoon followed the ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects. Both France and Spain ſent him invitations to embark from their dominions. A ſimilar offer was alſo made by the States-General, which Charles accepted. He proceeded to the Hague, and Montague, who had not waited for the orders of the parliament, to diſplay his loyalty, arrived with the Engliſh fleet at Scheveling; the duke of York went on board, and took the command as high admiral.

At Dover the king embraced Monk; never ſubject in fact, and probably in his intentions, had deſerved better of his king and country. In the ſpace of a few months, without effuſion of blood, by his cautious and diſintereſted conduct alone, he had beſtowed ſettlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torn with the moſt violent convulſions: and having obſtinately refuſed the moſt inviting conditions, offered him by the king as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely reſtored his injured maſter to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was alſo his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two ſuch joyful periods.

When Charles the Second aſcended the throne of his anceſtors he was thirty years of age. He poſſeſſed a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harſh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the perſon amiable, without preventing that authority and regard which attend the years of experience

ence and maturity. Tenderneſs was excited by the memory of his recent adverſities. His preſent proſperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. And as the ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution, which reſtored him to his regal rights, had alſo reſtored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumſtances, or was more bleſt with the cordial affection and attachment of his ſubjects.

The whole demeanour of the king was calculated to increaſe this popularity; the eaſieſt manners, the moſt unaffected politeneſs, the moſt engaging gaiety, accompanied his converſation and addreſs. He retained on the throne that affability which he had diſplayed in exile. But it was the choice of his miniſters that chiefly gave contentment to the nation. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime miniſter; the marquis, created duke of Ormond, was ſteward of the houſehold; the earl of Southampton, high treaſurer; ſir Edward Nicholas, ſecretary of ſtate. Admiral Montague, was created earl of Sandwich; and Monk was created duke of Albemarle: the latter had performed ſuch ſignal ſervices, that according to a vulgar and malignant obſervation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of diſtinction. Charles's diſpoſition, free from jealouſy, and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never over-rated his merits, prevented all thoſe diſguſts which naturally ariſe in ſo delicate a ſituation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extenſive, and his parts were more ſolid than ſhining. Though he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in inferior ſtations, he was imagined, upon familiar acquaintance, not to be wholly equal to thoſe great achievements, which fortune, united to prudence, had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a ſcene of life to which he had never been accuſtomed. Morrice, his friend,

was

was created ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſupported more by his patron's credit than by his own abilities or experience.

Into his council were admitted the moſt eminent men of the nation, without regard to former diſtinctions: the preſbyterians, equally with the royaliſts, ſhared this honour. Anneſley was alſo created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper lord Aſhley; Denzil Hollis lord Hollis. The earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy ſeal. Calamy and Baxter, preſbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

All judicial proceedings tranſacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector were ratified by a new law; the act of indemnity alſo, after ſome oppoſition in the houſe of peers, paſſed both aſſemblies, and received the king's aſſent. Thoſe who had an immediate hand in the late king's death, were there excepted: even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were alſo excepted. St. John, and ſeventeen perſons more, were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had ſitten in any illegal high court of juſtice were diſabled from bearing offices. Theſe were all the ſeverities which followed ſuch furious civil wars and convulſions.

The next buſineſs was the ſettlement of the king's revenue. They granted him 100,000 pounds a-year in lieu of the tenures of wards and liveries; they aſſigned one-half of the exciſe, as the fund whence this revenue ſhould be levied; they alſo granted him the other half of the exciſe, with tonnage and poundage during life; and they voted, that the ſettled revenue of the crown for all charges ſhould be 1,200,000 pounds a-year. But on this occaſion they were not negligent of public freedom; and though they voted in general, that 1,200,000 pounds a-year ſhould be ſettled on the king, they

ſcarcely

ſcarcely aſſigned any funds which could yield two-thirds of that ſum. And they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future conſideration of parliament.

In all the temporary ſupplies which they voted, they diſcovered the ſame cautious frugality. To diſband the army, ſo formidable in itſelf, and ſo much accuſtomed to rebellion and changes of government, was neceſſary for the ſecurity both of king and parliament; yet the commons ſhewed great jealouſy in granting the ſums requiſite for that end. An aſſeſſment of 70,000 pounds a-month was impoſed: but it was at firſt voted to continue only three months: and all the other ſums, which they levied for that purpoſe, by a poll-bill and new aſſeſſments, were ſtill granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well aſſured of the fidelity of the hand to which the money was entruſted. Having proceeded ſo far in the ſettlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned itſelf for ſome time.

During the receſs of parliament, the chief object which intereſted the public was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. Six of the late king's judges, Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, together with Axtel, who had guarded the high court of juſtice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution, Coke, the ſolicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who inflamed the army, and impelled them to regicide, were condemned, and ſuffered. No ſaint or confeſſor ever went to martyrdom with more aſſured confidence of heaven than was expreſſed by thoſe criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were ſet before them. The reſt of the king's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were diſperſed into ſeveral priſons.

This puniſhment of declared enemies interrupted not the rejoicings of the court: but the death of the duke

duke of Gloceſter, a young prince of promiſing hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The king, by no incident in his life, was ever ſo deeply affected. Gloceſter was obſerved to poſſeſs united the good qualities of both his brothers: the clear judgment and penetration of the king; the induſtry and application of the duke of York. He was alſo believed to be affectionate to the religion and conſtitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the ſmall pox put an end to his life.

The princeſs of Orange having come to England, in order to partake of the joy attending the reſtoration of her family, with whom ſhe lived in great friendſhip, ſoon after ſickened and died. The queen-mother paid a viſit to her ſon; and obtained his conſent to the marriage of the princeſs Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

The parliament having again met, and having eſtabliſhed ſeveral articles of revenue, were, after ſitting about two months, diſſolved by the king in a ſpeech full of the moſt gracious expreſſions. The prudence of Clarendon prevailed alſo on Charles to diſband the army. On the latter wiſhing to retain thoſe martial veterans, the miniſter repreſented their enthuſiaſtic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the king, that, till they were diſbanded, he never could eſteem himſelf ſecurely eſtabliſhed on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garriſons, about 1000 horſe, and 4000 foot. This was the firſt appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army in this iſland.

Clarendon not only behaved with wiſdom and juſtice in the office of chancellor, but by his counſel equally promoted the intereſt of prince and of people. He was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addreſſes of the duke of York, and, under promiſe

promiſe of marriage, had ſecretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared ſoon after the reſtoration: and though many endeavoured to diſſuade the king from conſenting to ſo an unequal an alliance, Charles, in pity to his friend and miniſter, who had been ignorant of theſe engagements, permitted his brother to marry her. Clarendon expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the honour which he had obtained; and ſaid, that, by being elevated ſo much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more ſudden downfal.

It is only in the conduct of eccleſiaſtical politics, that the adminiſtration of Clarendon, can be arraigned as narrow and bigotted. The commons had poſtponed the examinations of all religious controverſy, and had left the ſettlement of the church to the king, and the ancient laws. In the execution of theſe the king at firſt uſed great moderation; and though the biſhops who remained alive were reſtored to their ſees, and the ejected clergy recovered their livings, to give contentment to the preſbyterians, it had been declared, that the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus, ſhould not be inſiſted on.

But it was far from the intentions of the miniſtry always to preſerve this regard for the preſbyterians; and an inſurrection that was kindled by one Venner, a millenarian, and who with ſixty of his followers, was ſubdued after an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance, was a pretence for juſtifying the intended rigour againſt the preſbyterians. The affairs of Scotland confirmed the miniſter in this

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portunities, Charles anſwered that preſbyterianiſm was not a religion for a gentleman; the reſolution to reſtore prelacy was ſeconded by Clarendon and Ormond. Sharp, who had been commiſſioned by the preſbyterians in Scotland to manage their intereſts with the king, was perſuaded to abandon that party; and, as a reward for his compliance, was created archbiſhop of St. Andrews. The conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs was chiefly entruſted to him; and as he was eſteemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

The immediate fears of the Scottiſh preſbyterians deterred them from reſiſtance. Scotland had not been included in the declaration of indemnity which the king had iſſued from Breda. Some examples of ſeverity were deemed neceſſary; and among other victims the marquis of Argyle was piched upon. As two acts of indemnity paſſed by the late and preſent king in 1641 and 1651, barred all enquiry into the moſt exceptionable part of his conduct, he was tried for his compliance with the uſurpation: the parliament ſcrupled not to paſs ſentence upon him; and he died with great conſtancy and courage. As he was univerſally known to have been the chief inſtrument of the paſt diſorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his ſentence, and ſeveral iniquitous circumſtances in the method of conducting his trial, ſeemed, on that account, to admit of ſome apology. Lord Lorne, ſon of Argyle, having ever preſerved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture.

The humiliation of the preſbyterians in Scotland was ſoon followed by the perſecution of that ſect in England. An ineffectual conference had been held at the Savoy, in the vain expectation of bringing about an accommodation between thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, and the followers of preſbytery. But the new par- A. D. 1662.

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liament that was ſummoned about this time, conſiſted chiefly of zealous churchmen and royaliſts; and after they had, by ſeveral acts, provided for the ſecurity of the throne, which declared the intending and deviſing of the king's bodily harm to be high treaſon, they directed their attention towards exalting the power of the church; the law which the late king had paſſed, and which excluded the biſhops from parliament, was repealed; and ſoon after the bill was the triumph of epiſcopacy, and the abaſement of preſbytery. Inſtead of enlarging the terms of communion, it laid hold of the prejudices which prevailed among the preſbyterian ſect to eject them from their livings; it required that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the ſolemn league and covenant; and ſhould renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the king.

This bill reinſtated the church in the ſame condition in which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted in their full rigour, and new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promiſes of toleration, and of indulgence to tender conſciences, were thereby eluded and broken. It is true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expreſſed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament: but this limitation could never reaſonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his engagements. However, it is agreed, that the king did not voluntarily concur with this violent meaſure, and that the zeal of Clarendon, and of the church party among the commons, ſeconded by the intrigues of the catholics, was the chief cauſe which extorted his conſent.

The royaliſts, though very ready to eſtabliſh thoſe high principles of monarchy which their antagoniſts had controverted, were, in reſpect to revenues, far from ſo liberal in their conceſſions as the king could have wiſhed. Though his enormous debts had influenced them to vote him an extraordinary ſupply of 1,200,000l.; and though, finding the revenue fall much ſhort of what was expected, they impoſed a tax of two ſhillings on every hearth, yet the whole eſtabliſhed revenue did not exceed, for many years, a million; a ſum which muſt have been managed with a different ſpirit of economy from that of Charles, to have been adequate to the public expences.

Before the parliament roſe, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. With that princeſs he received 500,000 pounds, together with two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies; but the marriage, though concluded with univerſal approbation, may be conſidered as inauſpicious, ſince Catherine was never able, either by the graces of her perſon or humour, to make herſelf agreeable to the king.

The feſtivity of theſe eſpouſals was clouded by the trial and execution of three regicides, Berkſtead, Cobbet, and Okey, who had been ſeized in Holland by a warrant from the States, and had been ſent over to England. The moderation and ſubmiſſion with which they behaved did not exempt them from capital puniſhment; and from their fate the attention of the public was directed to the trial of two more diſtinguiſhed criminals, Lambert and Vane, who, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to priſon. The convention parliament, however, was ſo favourable to them, as to petition the king, if they ſhould be found guilty, to ſuſpend

their execution: but this new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive diſputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: it extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of ſtate, and ſecretary of the navy, where fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him required his oppoſition to monarchy.

Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himſelf of this advantage. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government at that time eſtabliſhed, was regarded as criminal, that the whole nation had incurred equal guilt. That for his part he had ever condemned all the violences that had been put upon the parliament and upon the perſon of the ſovereign; nor had he once appeared in the houſe for ſome time before and after the execution of the king. But all the defence he could make was fruitleſs. The court, conſidering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and proſecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treaſon charged againſt him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deſerted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the perſuaſion of a juſt cauſe ſupported him againſt the terrors of death; while his enthuſiaſm, excited by the proſpect of glory, embelliſhed the concluſion of a life, which, through the whole courſe of it, had been ſo much diſfigured by the prevalence of that principle. Leſt pity for a courageous ſufferer ſhould make impreſſion on the populace, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, whoſe noiſe, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admoniſhed him to temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not aſtoniſhed at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity;

trepidity; and he conſidered death but as a paſſage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and during thirty years, the reſt of his life, was confined to Guernſey: he bore this reverſe of fortune with apparent contentment, and died a Roman catholic.

The preſbyterians had no leiſure to rejoice in the condemnation of Vane and Lambert. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquiſh their livings, or to ſign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the moſt zealous of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to refuſe the ſubſcription; in hopes that the biſhops would not venture at once to expel ſo great a number of the moſt popular preachers. The catholic party at court, who deſired a great rent among the proteſtants, encouraged them in this obſtinacy, and gave them hopes that the king would protect them in their refuſal. The king himſelf, by his irreſolute conduct, contributed, either from deſign or accident, to increaſe this opinion. Above all, the terms of ſubſcription had been made ſtrict and rigid, on purpoſe to diſguſt all the zealous and ſcrupulous among the preſbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſhed their cures; and to the aſtoniſhment of the court, ſacrificed their intereſt to their religious tenets. Fortified by ſociety in their ſufferings, they were reſolved to undergo any hardſhips, rather than openly renounce thoſe principles, which, on other occaſions, they were ſo apt, from intereſt, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleaſure of retaliation; and even puſhed, as uſual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergyman; but this indulgence, though at firſt in-

ſiſted on by the houſe of peers, was now refuſed to the preſbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many, that ſome relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept the preſbyterians united to the church, and have cured thoſe eccleſiaſtical factions, which had been ſo fatal, and were ſtill ſo dangerous. Biſhoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the preſbyterians; the laſt could only be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refuſed by many.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, the pecuniary diſtreſs of the king daily augmented: the ſuccours he had ſent over to Portugal had already coſt him double the money which had been payed as the queen's portion; the time for the payment of his ſiſter's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching; and his treaſury, notwithſtanding the ſupplies voted him, was ſtill empty and very much indebted. Tangiers, a fortreſs from which great benefit was expected was become a burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increaſed the charge of that garriſon to 120,000 pounds a-year. Theſe conſiderations had ſuch influence, not only on the king, but even on Clarendon, that this uncorrupt miniſter was the moſt forward to adviſe accepting a ſum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the king, from the narrow ſtate of his revenue, was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal it was ſtipulated that Dunkirk ſhould never be yielded to the Spaniards: France was therefore the only purchaſer that remained. D'Eſtrades was invited over by a letter from the chancellor himſelf in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thouſand pounds were demanded. One hundred thouſand were offered. The Engliſh by degrees lowered their demand: the French raiſed their offer: and the bargain was concluded at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and ſtores were valued at a fifth of the ſum.

ſum. The importance of this ſale was not, at that time, ſufficiently known, either abroad or at home. The French monarch himſelf, ſo fond of acquiſitions, and ſo good a judge of his own intereſts, thought that he had made a hard bargain; and this ſum, in appearance ſo ſmall, was the utmoſt which he would allow his ambaſſador to offer.

It was about this time that the king iſſued a declaration under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. In this he mentioned the promiſes of liberty of conſcience that he had made at Breda. And ſubjoined that he ſhould make it his concern to ſoften the penalties of thoſe who did not conform to the eſtabliſhed church provided they lived peaceably. The object of this declaration the nation was at a loſs to interpret, until a ſubſequent event rendered it plain and manifeſt. The king, during his exile, had imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favour of the catholic religion; and, according to the moſt probable accounts, had been ſecretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The ſame thoughtleſs humour which rendered him an eaſy convert to popery, prevented the theological tenets of that ſect from taking any faſt hold of him. During his vigorous ſtate of health, while his blood was warm and his ſpirits high, a contempt and diſregard to all religion held poſſeſſion of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a deiſt than a catholic. But in thoſe revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent underſtanding was clouded with fears and apprehenſions, he had ſtarts of more ſincere conviction; and a ſect, which always poſſeſſed his inclination, was then maſter of his judgment and opinion.

But though the king thus fluctuated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly profeſſed, and popery, to which he retained

a ſecret propenſity, his brother, the duke of York, had zealouſly adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow underſtanding made him a thorough convert, without any reſerve from intereſt, or doubts from reaſoning and inquiry. By his application to buſineſs he had acquired a great aſcendant over the king, who, though poſſeſſed of more diſcernment, was glad to throw the burden of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealouſy. On pretence of eaſing the proteſtant diſſenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exerciſe of their religion; at leaſt, the exerciſe of it in private houſes. The two brothers ſaw with pleaſure ſo numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuſe conformity; and it was hoped that, under ſhelter of their name, the ſmall and hated ſect of the catholics might meet with favour and protection.

A. D. 1663. Though the king pleaded his early promiſes of toleration, the parliament could by no means be ſatisfied with this meaſure; and in order to deprive the catholics of all hopes the two houſes concurred in a remonſtrance againſt them. Charles on this not only dropped his project of indulgence, but iſſued ſoon after a proclamation againſt prieſts and Jeſuits: he took care, however, that the very terms of it ſhould make it ineffectual. And in return for this compliance he preſſed the commons on his pecuniary wants, and the inſufficiency of his revenue. That aſſembly in return voted him four ſubſidies; which was the laſt time that taxes were levied in that manner.

Several laws were made this ſeſſion with regard to trade. The militia alſo came under conſideration, and ſome rules were eſtabliſhed for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the king ſhould have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The ſituation of

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this iſland, together with its great naval power, has always occaſioned other means of ſecurity, however requiſite, to be much neglected amongſt us: and the parliament ſhowed here a very ſuperfluous jealouſy of the king's ſtrictneſs in diſciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealouſy.

The earl of Clarendon's favour began about this time to decline: an attack that had been made upon him by the earl of Briſtol had ended in the diſgrace of Briſtol himſelf; but it was viſible, that in proportion as the king found himſelf eſtabliſhed on the throne, that he began to alienate himſelf from a miniſter whoſe character was ſo little ſuited to his own. Charles's favour for the catholics was always oppoſed by Clarendon; public liberty was ſecured againſt all attempts of the over-zealous royaliſts; prodigal grants of the king were checked or refuſed, and the dignity of his own character was ſo much conſulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did alſo his friend Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal miſtreſſes. The king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created ducheſs of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his maſter; and her ſucceſs was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and ſir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was ſoon after created lord Arlington.

The character of the king began alſo to be more ſtrictly ſcrutinized: it was obſerved, that his bounty was more the reſult of a facility of diſpoſition than of real generoſity; that his love of pleaſure was not attended with proper ſentiment or decency; and while he ſeemed to bear a good-will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very ca-

pable of friendſhip; and he had ſecretly entertained a very bad opinion and diſtruſt of mankind. But above all what ſullied his reputation in the eyes of all good judges was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whoſe zeal and ſufferings in the royal cauſe had known no bounds. The parliament indeed had taken ſome notice of them; and had diſtributed at one time ſixty thouſand pounds among them. Mrs. Lane alſo, and the Penderells, had handſome preſents and penſions from the king. But the greater part of the royaliſts ſtill remained in poverty and diſtreſs; aggravated by the cruel diſappointment in their ſanguine hopes, and by ſeeing favour and preferment beſtowed upon their moſt inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they univerſally ſaid, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

CHARLES II.

Rupture with Holland.—Victory of the Engliſh.—Rupture with France and Denmark.—Sea-fight of four days.—Victory of the Engliſh.—Fire of London.—Diſgrace at Chatham.—Peace of Breda.—Clarendon's fall and baniſhment.—French invaſion of the Low Countries.—Triple league.—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Affairs of Scotland and of Ireland.—The cabal—their characters.—A parliament.—Coventry act.—Blood's crimes.—Duke declares himſelf catholic.—Exchequer ſhut.—Attack of the Smyrna fleet.—War declared with Holland.—Weakneſs of the States.—Battle of Solebay.—Sandwich killed.—Progreſs of the French.—Prince of Orange Stadtholder.—Maſſacre of the De Wits.—A parliament.—Sea-fights.—Congreſs of Cologne.—A parliament.—Peace with Holland.

THE new parliament trod in the ſteps of the old. Their loyalty induced them to repeal the triennial act; and to content themſelves with a clauſe that parliaments ſhould not be interrupted above three years at moſt. The commons likewiſe paſſed a vote, that the indignities offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade. This was the firſt open ſtep to the Dutch war. The induſtry and frugality of thoſe republicans enabled them to underſell the Engliſh in every market; and the A. D. 1664.

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latter were ſtrongly inclined to raviſh by force from the States, what they could not obtain by ſuperior ſkill. The genius of Charles prompted him to ſtudy naval affairs; and though the Dutch, during his exile, had expreſſed towards him more civility and friendſhip, than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louveſtein, or ariſtocratic faction, which at this time ruled the commonwealth, had fallen into cloſe union with France; and could that party be ſubdued he might hope that his nephew, the young prince of Orange, would be reinſtated in the authority poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and would bring the States to a dependence under England.

The duke of York was at the head of the African company, whoſe trade was extremely checked by the ſettlements of the Dutch, and was eager for the war; the credit of Clarendon and Southampton, who were averſe to it, was on the decline; and the court and parliament both concurred in promoting hoſtilities. The latter had indeed been prorogued without granting the ſupplies; but their vote againſt the encroachments of the Dutch was conſidered as a ſanction for vigorous meaſures; and, after a memorial had been preſented to the States, ſir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions: he likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of cape Verde and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral ſhips trading on that coaſt. And having ſailed to America, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a territory which James the Firſt had given by patent to the earl of Sterling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of theſe hoſtile meaſures, the king, unwilling to avow what he could not well juſtify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enter-

enterpriſe. He likewiſe confined that admiral to the Tower; but ſome time after releaſed him.

The Dutch, finding their applications for redreſs were likely to be eluded, inſtructed de Ruyter, who was with a fleet in the Mediterranean, to ſail to the coaſt of Guinea, and retaliate on the Engliſh. De Ruyter not only expelled the Engliſh from their new acquiſitions, but diſpoſſeſſed them of ſome of their old ſettlements. His deſign had been ſuſpected; orders were iſſued by the court of St. James's for ſeizing all the Dutch ſhips; and 135 fell into the hands of the Engliſh; the naval armaments were urged by Charles in perſon; the parliament when it met ſeconded the zeal of the king. Near two millions and a half were voted to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great proſpect of ſucceſs, had animated the whole nation againſt the Dutch.

A great alteration was made this ſeſſion in the method of taxing the clergy; the convocation tacitly abandoned the right it had hitherto exerciſed of contributing to the pecuniary exigencies of the ſtate; and allowed the commons to lay impoſitions on eccleſiaſtical revenues, as on the reſt of the kingdom.

The Dutch in vain endeavoured to avert the approaching war by negociation. A. D. 1665. Their meaſures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a miniſter equally eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public counſels that magnanimity which ſuits the miniſter of a great ſtate. It was ever his maxim, that no independent government ſhould yield to another any evident point of reaſon or equity; and that all ſuch conceſſions, ſo far from preventing war, ſerved to no other purpoſe than to provoke freſh claims and inſults. By his management a ſpirit of union was preſerved

preſerved in all the provinces; great ſums were levied; and a navy was equipped, compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

As ſoon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterpriſes, Charles declared war againſt the States. His fleet, conſiſting of 114 ſail, beſides fire-ſhips and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in cloſe fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ſhip blew up. This accident much diſcouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coaſt. Tromp alone, ſon of the famous admiral killed during the former war, bravely ſuſtained with his ſquadron the efforts of the Engliſh, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquiſhed had nineteen ſhips ſunk and taken. The victors loſt only one. Sir John Lawſon died ſoon after of his wounds.

It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reaſon, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been iſſued to ſlacken ſail by Brounker, one of the duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his maſter. The duke diſclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was ſufficiently puniſhed for his temerity. It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickeſt of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed by one ſhot at his ſide, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a purſuit, where even perſons of inferior ſtation, and of the moſt cowardly diſpoſition, acquire courage, a commander ſhould feel his ſpirits to flag, and ſhould turn from the back of an enemy whoſe face he had not been afraid to encounter.

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The declining courage of the Dutch was revived by de Wit; the genius of this man was of the moſt extenſive nature: he quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; he went on board of the fleet, and ſoon remedied all thoſe diſorders which had been occaſioned by the late misfortune; but his chief reliance was on the king of France, who was engaged in a defenſive league with the States, and who was reſolved to ſupport them in the unequal conteſt.

The king of Denmark alſo was not an idle ſpectator of war kindled between the maritime powers: but the part he acted was the moſt extraordinary: he made a ſecret agreement with Charles to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips in his harbours, and to ſhare the ſpoils with the Engliſh, provided they would aſſiſt him in executing this meaſure. In order to increaſe his prey, he perfidiouſly invited the Dutch to take ſhelter in his ports; and accordingly the Eaſt-India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the Engliſh navy (the duke having gone aſhore), diſpatched ſir Thomas Tiddiman with a ſquadron to attack them; but whether from the king of Denmark's delay in ſending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engroſs the whole booty, the Engliſh admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpoſe. The Daniſh governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leiſure to fortify themſelves, made a gallant reſiſtance.

The king of Denmark, ſeemingly aſhamed of his conduct, concluded with ſir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, an offenſive alliance againſt the States; and at the very ſame time, his reſident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offenſive alliance againſt England. To this latter alliance he adhered, probably from jealouſy of the increaſing naval power of England; and he ſeized and confiſcated

fiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his harbours. This was a ſenſible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a blow was given to the Engliſh commerce; the king of Denmark's naval force was alſo conſiderable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince ſtipulated to aſſiſt his ally with a fleet of thirty ſail; and he received in return a yearly ſubſidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

The biſhop of Munſter was the only ally that Charles could acquire; but the ravages of that martial prelate on the provinces were checked by a body of three thouſand French; and he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of the States.

England had a more grievous calamity to contend with than that of war. The plague had broken out in London; and that with ſuch violence as to cut off in a year near 90,000 inhabitants. The king was obliged to ſummon the parliament at Oxford.

A. D. 1666. After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force; and ſuch was the unhappy conduct of her miniſters, that the advantages of her ſituation turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to ſail from Toulon; and the French ſquadron, under his command, conſiſting of above forty ſail, was now commonly ſuppoſed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of ſeventy-ſix ſail, was at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the Engliſh fleet, which exceeded not ſeventy-four ſail. Albemarle, who, from his ſucceſſes under the protector, had too much learned to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ſhips, in order to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, proteſted againſt the temerity of this

this reſolution: but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the Engliſh ſet ſail to give battle to the Dutch; who, ſeeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that enſued is one of the moſt memorable that we read of in ſtory; whether we conſider its long duration, or the deſperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here ſome atonement by his valour for the raſhneſs of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himſelf more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the ſummit of honours.

On the firſt day the loſs was nearly equal; and darkneſs parted the combatants: vice-admiral ſir William Berkeley fell on the ſide of the Engliſh; and admiral Evertz on that of the Dutch. On the ſecond day, during the action, the Dutch fleet was joined by ſixteen freſh ſhips; and the Engliſh were ſo ſhattered, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight; they found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. Their retreat was continued the next morning; their ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſtretch a-head, and ſixteen of the moſt entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the rear, and preſented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Oſſory, ſon of Ormond, a gallant youth, who ſought honour and experience in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. Albemarle confeſſed to him his intention rather to blow up his ſhip and periſh glorioufly, than yield to the enemy. Oſſory applauded this deſperate reſolution.

About two o'clock the Dutch had come up to them, and were ready to renew the engagement, when the ſquadron of prince Rupert was deſcried ſteering to the aſſiſtance of Albemarle. The battle now began afreſh, and with more equal force than

than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

It was the conjunction alone of the French that could give the Dutch a decided superiority: to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. Prince Rupert and Albemarle were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with conduct and valour, maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and, though overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what "a wretch am I? among so many thousand bullets, "is there not one to put an end to my miserable "life?" One de Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the

Engliſh preſſed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter ſaved themſelves in their harbours.

The Engliſh now rode inconteſtably maſters of the ſea, and inſulted the Dutch in their harbours. But the ſatisfaction which their ſucceſs inſpired, was alloyed by an accident that happened in London, which threw the people into great conſternation. Fire, breaking out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, ſpread itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it laid in aſhes a conſiderable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be ſpectators of their own ruin: and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. The king and duke uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but all their induſtry was unſucceſsful. About four hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand houſes, were reduced to aſhes.

The popular prejudice aſcribed this calamity to the papiſts: and though, after the ſtricteſt enquiry by a committee of parliament, no proof appeared to ſupport ſuch a calumny, yet it was ſanctioned by the inſcription that was engraved by authority on the monument.

The parliament met ſoon after, and voted a ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by aſſeſſments. But Charles began to be ſenſible that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken were likely to prove abortive. The Dutch had defended themſelves with vigour; and as two powerful monarchs now ſupported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſts of Bayonne, was become hoſtile to the Engliſh. This induced the king to make advances to-

wards an accommodation; conferences
A. D. 1667. were ſecretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris; every thing was adjuſted, except the claim of the Engliſh to Polerone, a ſpice-iſland in the Eaſt-Indies. To ſettle this, lord Hollis and Henry Coventry were ſent commiſſioners to Breda; the difference between the parties appeared ſo inconſiderable, and peace ſo infallible, that Charles reſolved to ſave, as far as poſſible, the laſt ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds, and to employ it for the payment of his own debts. In this deſign, he remitted his preparations, and expoſed England to one of the greateſt affronts which it has ever received.

The opportunity of retrieving the honour of the Dutch had not eſcaped the penetrating mind of de Wit. He protracted the negociations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter. They burſt the chain which had been drawn acroſs the river Medway. They advanced as high as Upnore-caſtle, and burnt ſeveral ſhips of war. They attempted Portſmouth; inſulted Harwich; and had the French thought proper at this time to join them, and to invade England, conſequences the moſt fatal might juſtly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to puſh the victory to ſuch extremities. His intereſt required that a balance ſhould be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrolled ſuperiority ſhould be given to either.

The ſigning of the treaty at Breda extricated the Engliſh from this danger; Charles's ambaſſadors received orders to recede from thoſe demands, which, however frivolous in themſelves, could not now be relinquiſhed, without acknowledging a ſuperiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction for the ſhips Bonaventure and Good-Hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer inſiſted on: Acadie was yielded

yielded to the French. The acquiſition of New-York, a ſettlement ſo important by its ſituation, was the chief advantage which the Engliſh reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had ſhone out with luſtre, but where the miſconduct of the government, eſpecially in the concluſion, had been no leſs apparent.

Some ſacrifice was neceſſary to appeaſe the people: the catholics and royaliſts concurred in pointing out the chancellor as the victim; the former imputed to him the reſtraints which were impoſed on their religion; and the latter aſcribed to him the coldneſs with which their ſervices had been requited. The ſale of Dunkirk was alſo remembered, and reſented; and a building of more expence than his ſlender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much expoſed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk-houſe.

The king, who had always more revered than loved him, was now totally eſtranged from him. His licentious pleaſures had been oppoſed by the remonſtrances of Clarendon; and he eaſily forgot, in the preſent oppoſition, the paſt ſervices of his miniſter. He took the great ſeal from him, and gave it to ſir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord keeper. Southampton, the treaſurer, was now dead, who had perſevered to the utmoſt in his attachment to the chancellor. The laſt time he appeared at the council-table, he exerted his friendſhip with a vigour which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," ſaid he, ſpeaking of Clarendon, "is a true proteſtant and an honeſt "Engliſhman; and while he enjoys power, we are "ſecure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I "dread the conſequences of his removal."

The duke of York in vain exerted his intereſt in behalf of his father. His total ruin was reſolved on. An impeachment was voted againſt him by the com-

mons; the principal charge was the ſale of Dunkirk; and Clarendon, finding that any defence offered to ſuch prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw. From Calais he wrote a paper addreſſed to the houſe of lords, in which he ſtated his repugnance to the Dutch war; and inſinuated, that his real crime was his frequent oppoſition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of ſuitors had extorted from his majeſty.

The lords tranſmitted this paper to the commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both houſes, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The parliament next proceeded to exert their legiſlative power againſt Clarendon, and paſſed a bill of baniſhment and incapacity, which received the royal aſſent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He ſurvived his baniſhment ſix years; and he employed his leiſure chiefly in reducing into order the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does honour to his memory; and, except Whitlocke's Memorials, is the moſt candid account of thoſe times, compoſed by any cotemporary author.

A. D. 1668. The next expedient which Charles embraced, in the triple alliance, to acquire popularity is more deſerving of praiſe. The glory of France which had been eclipſed by the ſuperior force of the Spaniſh monarchy, began to break out with great luſtre; and Lewis the XIV. who filled the throne, was well adapted by his perſonal character to avail himſelf of every advantage. The weakneſs of Spain opened to him an extenſive field for conqueſt; and the death of the Spaniſh ſovereign, Philip the IV. awakened his ambition into action.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis eſpouſed the Spaniſh princeſs, he had renounced every title of ſucceſſion to every part of the Spaniſh monarchy;

monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the moſt accurate and moſt preciſe terms that language could afford. But, on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and ſucceſſion, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a ſon, Charles II. of Spain; but as the queen of France was of a former marriage, ſhe laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtoms of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage was preferred to a male of a ſecond, in the ſucceſſion to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important duchy.

A claim of this nature was more properly ſupported by military force than by argument and reaſoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of 40,000 men, commanded by the beſt generals of the age, and provided with every thing neceſſary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreſeen this meaſure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, fortifications, or garriſons, fell into the hands of the French king as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them. Athe, Liſle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binch, were immediately taken: and it was viſible that no force in the Low Countries was able to ſtop or retard the progreſs of the French arms.

This meaſure, executed with ſuch celerity and ſucceſs, gave great alarm to almoſt every court in Europe. As no ſtate lay nearer the danger, none was ſeized with more terror than the United Provinces. They were ſtill engaged, together with France, in a war againſt England; and Lewis had promiſed them that he would take no ſtep againſt Spain without previouſly informing them: but, contrary to this aſſurance, he kept a total ſilence,

till on the very point of entering upon action. If the renunciation made at the treaty of the Pyrenees was not valid, it was foreſeen, that upon the death of the king of Spain, a ſickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis, after which it would be vainly expected to ſet bounds to his pretenſions. Charles, acquainted with theſe well-grounded apprehenſions of the Dutch, had been the more obſtinate in inſiſting on his own conditions at Breda; and by delaying to ſign the treaty, had imprudently expoſed himſelf to the ſignal diſgrace which he received at Chatham. De Wit, ſenſible that a few weeks delay would be of no conſequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of ſtriking an important blow, and of finiſhing the war with honour to himſelf and to his country.

Negociations meanwhile commenced for the ſaving of Flanders. Though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended leſt theſe, either from the obſtinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, ſhould never be carried into execution.

Charles reſolved, with great prudence, to take the firſt ſtep towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of ſaving the Netherlands. This man, whom philoſophy had taught to deſpiſe the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, ſincere, ſuperior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: and meeting in de Wit a man of the ſame generous and enlarged ſentiments, he immediately opened his maſter's intentions, and preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion. A treaty was from the firſt negociated between theſe two ſtateſmen with the ſame cordiality as if it were a private tranſaction between intimate companions. Lewis had offered to relinquiſh all the queen's rights, on condition either of keeping the conqueſts, or of receiving in lieu

lieu of them Franchecomtè, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this propoſal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refuſed, they agreed, that France ſhould not proſecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed to Spain. A defenſive alliance was likewiſe concluded between Holland and England.

The articles of this confederacy were ſoon adjuſted by ſuch candid and able negociators: but the greateſt difficulty ſtill remained. By the conſtitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces muſt give their conſent to every alliance; and beſides that this formality could not be diſpatched in leſs than two months, it was juſtly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obſtruct the paſſing of the treaty in ſome of the ſmaller cities. D'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, a man of abilities, hearing of the league which was on the carpet, treated it lightly; "Six weeks hence," ſaid he, "we ſhall ſpeak to it." To obviate this difficulty, de Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in ſo fundamental an article; and, by his authority, he prevailed with the States-General at once to ſign and ratify the league: Though they acknowledged that, if that meaſure ſhould diſpleaſe their conſtituents, they riſked their heads by this irregularity. After ſealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. Temple cried out, *At Breda as friends: here as brothers.* And de Wit added, that now the matter was finiſhed it looked like a miracle.

Room had been left for the acceſſion of Sweden to the treaty, which was ſoon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league.

The French monarch was extremely diſpleaſed at this meaſure, though his own offer was made the foundation of it. Nor did Spain accept the alternative until ſhe was preſſed on all hands. Even in her compliance ſhe gave ſtrong ſymptoms of ill-humour and diſcontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spaniſh monarch, had been anxious only for their own ſecurity; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a diſtance from their frontier, were more indifferent what progreſs he made in other places. Senſible of theſe views, the queen-regent of Spain reſolved ſtill to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at preſent to enter into. Franchecomté, by a vigorous and well-concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous ſeaſon, and in the midſt of winter. She choſe, therefore, to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the laſt campaign. By this means Lewis extended his garriſons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spaniſh provinces.

But notwithſtanding the advantages of his ſituation, the French monarch could entertain ſmall hopes of ever extending his conqueſts on that quarter which lay the moſt expoſed to his ambition, and where his acquiſitions were of moſt importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the emperor and other powers of Germany, whoſe intereſt ſeemed to be intimately concerned, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy. Spain herſelf, having, about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour and oppoſition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The great ſatisfaction expreſſed in England on account of the counſels now embraced

embraced by the court, promiſed the hearty concurrence of parliament in every meaſure which could be propoſed for oppoſition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe ſeemed to repoſe herſelf with ſecurity under the wings of that powerful confederacy which had been ſo happily formed for her protection. It is now time to give ſome account of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

Charles, from his averſion to buſineſs, had entruſted the affairs of Scotland to his miniſters. Theſe, particularly Middleton, could not forbear making very extraordinary ſtretches of authority. There had been intercepted a letter, written by lord Lorne to lord Duffus, in which, a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavoured by falſehood to prepoſſeſs the king againſt him. But he ſaid, that he had now diſcovered them, had defeated them, and had gained the perſon, meaning the earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old tyrannical, abſurd law againſt *Leaſing-making*; by which it was rendered criminal to belie the ſubjects of the king, or create in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die: but Charles was much diſpleaſed with the ſentence, and granted him a pardon.

Many other ſimilar inſtances of violence occurred; but the chief circumſtance, whence were derived all the ſubſequent tyranny and diſorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy. The rights of patrons had for ſome years been aboliſhed; and the power of electing miniſters had been veſted in the kirk-ſeſſion and lay elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, ſhould receive a preſentation from the patron, and ſhould be inſtituted anew by the biſhop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid preſbyterians

rians concerted meaſures among themſelves, and refuſed obedience: they imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty pariſhes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The weſtern countries chiefly were obſtinate in this particular. New miniſters were ſought for all over the kingdom; and no one was ſo ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. And as Middleton and the new miniſtry indulged themſelves in great riot, an opinion univerſally prevailed, that any form of religion offered by ſuch hands muſt be impious.

The king, at length, diſguſted with the violence of Middleton, recalled him, and made Rothes commiſſioner in his place This nobleman was already preſident of the council; and ſoon after was made lord keeper and treaſurer. Lauderdale ſtill continued ſecretary of ſtate, and commonly reſided at London.

Affairs remained in a peaceable ſtate till the ſevere law was made in England againſt conventicles. The Scottiſh parliament imitated that violence by paſſing a like act. A kind of high-commiſſion court was appointed by the privy-council, for executing this rigorous law, and for the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let looſe by the council. Thoſe who abſented themſelves from church were expoſed to ſevere fines, without any proof or legal conviction. The king at length gave orders, that the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion ſhould be diſcontinued; but his lenity came too late to remedy the diſorders. The people had already riſen in arms: their force however exceeded not two thouſand men. They were eaſily diſperſed by Dalziel, an officer, who, in the ſervice of Ruſſia, had increaſed the native ferocity of his diſpoſition: above forty were killed on the ſpot, and 135 were taken priſoners. Of theſe ten were hanged

hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh; and thirty-five before their own doors in different places.

The ſettlement of Ireland after the reſtoration was a work of greater difficulty than that of England and Scotland. To the numerous loyaliſts that had been expelled by Cromwel, ſome recompence was due. To enable Charles to give it, beſides the undivided lands in Ireland, the ſoldiers and adventurers were prevailed on by the duke of Ormond, the lord lieutenant, to relinquiſh one-third of their poſſeſſions; and that iſland began to enjoy ſome compoſure, when it was diſturbed by a violent act, paſſed by the Engliſh parliament, which prohibited the importation of Iriſh cattle into England. Ormond ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the act, which, he obſerved, would reduce Ireland to extreme poverty: Charles acquieſced in his reaſons; but the commons were reſolute in their purpoſe: and though the law brought great diſtreſs for ſome time upon the Iriſh, it occaſioned them to apply with induſtry to manufactures, and was in the end beneficial to them.

Since the reſtoration the king had been in continual want of ſupply from the parliament; but the commons, new to their ſituation, were not diſpoſed to relieve, with ſufficient liberality, the neceſſities of the crown; few of the members of that houſe were attached to the court by any other bond than that of inclination; and the uncertainty of their determinations expoſed the national councils to continual fluctuation. The character of Charles was ill fitted to remedy this inconvenience. He acted in the adminiſtration of public affairs as if government were a paſtime, rather than a ſerious occupation; and by the uncertainty of his conduct, he loſt that authority which could alone beſtow conſtancy on the fluctuating reſolutions of the parliament. His expences too, which ſometimes perhaps exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy: and while they increaſed

his

his dependence on the parliament, they were not calculated fully to ſatisfy either the intereſted or diſintereſted part of that aſſembly.

The parliament met after a long adjournment; and the commons, inſtead of liſtening to the king's ſolicitations for money, voted an enquiry into all the miſcarriages during the late war; the ſlackening of ſail after the duke's victory from falſe orders delivered by Brounker, the miſcarriage at Bergen, the diviſion of the fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle, the diſgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the houſe, and ordered to be impeached. Commiſſioner Pet, who had neglected orders iſſued for the ſecurity of Chatham, met with the ſame fate. Theſe impeachments were never proſecuted. The houſe at length, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the king 310,000 pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

A. D. 1669. 1670. The king's neceſſities obliged him ſoon to aſſemble them again; but as the commons had voted only 400,000 pounds, with which he was not ſatisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them. When they met after prorogation, they entered anew upon the buſineſs of ſupply, and granted the king an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spaniſh wine imported, eight on each tun of French. A law alſo paſſed empowering him to ſell the fee-farm rents; the laſt remains of the demeſnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been ſupported. By this expedient, he obtained ſome ſupply for his preſent neceſſities, but left the crown, if poſſible, ſtill more dependent than before. How much money might be raiſed by theſe ſales is uncertain; but it could not be near 1,800,000 pounds, the ſum aſſigned by ſome writers.

Some

Some attempts were made by the king to effect a union between England and Scotland; though they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties which obſtructed that uſeful and important undertaking. Commiſſioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions: but the deſign, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, ſoon after came to nothing.

The king's counſels which had hitherto been negligent and fluctuating, became now bad, and even criminal. It was remarked, that the committee for foreign affairs was entirely changed; and that prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, ſecretary Trevor, and lord-keeper Bridgeman, men in whoſe honour the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole ſecret was entruſted to five perſons, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. Theſe men were known by the appellation of the CABAL, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compoſe. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counſels.

Lord Aſhley, ſoon after known by the name of earl of Shafteſbury, was one of the moſt remarkable characters of the age, and the chief ſpring of all the ſucceeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late king's party; but being diſguſted with ſome meaſures of prince Maurice, he ſoon deſerted to the parliament. He inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great influence with the preſbyterians, he was ſerviceable in ſupporting, with his party, the authority of that uſurper. He employed the ſame credit in promoting the reſtoration; and on that account both deſerved and acquired favour with the king. In all his changes, he ſtill maintained the character of never betraying thoſe friends whom he deſerted; and which ever party he joined, his great capacity and ſingular talents ſoon gained him their confi-

dence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. No ſtation could ſatisfy his ambition, no fatigues were inſuperable to his induſtry. Well acquainted with the blind attachment of faction, he ſurmounted all ſenſe of ſhame: and, relying on the ſubtlety of his contrivances, he was not ſtartled with enterpriſes the moſt hazardous and moſt criminal. His talents, both of public ſpeaking and private inſinuation, ſhone out in an eminent degree; and amidſt all his furious paſſions, he poſſeſſed a ſound judgment of buſineſs, and ſtill more of men. Though fitted by nature for beginning and puſhing the greateſt undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent abilities, by reaſon of his inſatiable deſires, were equally dangerous to himſelf, to the prince, and to the people.

The duke of Buckingham poſſeſſed all the advantages which a graceful perſon, a high rank, a ſplendid fortune, and a lively wit could beſtow; but by his wild conduct, unreſtrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himſelf in the end odious and even inſignificant. The leaſt intereſt could make him abandon his honour; the ſmalleſt pleaſure could ſeduce him from his intereſt; the moſt frivolous caprice was ſufficient to counterbalance his pleaſure. By his want of ſecrecy and conſtancy, he deſtroyed his character in public life; by his contempt of order and œconomy, he diſſipated his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at laſt as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little deſirous of doing good to mankind.

The earl, ſoon after created duke of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and ſtill leſs in acquired talents; but neither was his addreſs graceful, nor his underſtanding juſt. His principles, or, more properly ſpeaking, his prejudices, were obſtinate, but unable to reſtrain his ambition: his ambition was ſtill leſs dangerous than the tyranny and violence

violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; inſolent to his inferiors, but abject to his ſuperiors; though in his whole character and deportment he was almoſt diametrically oppoſite to the king, he had the fortune, beyond any other miniſter, to maintain, during the greater part of his reign, an aſcendant over him.

The talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raiſed ſir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous ſpirit gave him weight in the king's councils. Of the whole cabal, Arlington was the leaſt dangerous, either by his vices or his talents. His judgment was ſound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity to perſevere in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeman, he had been a great promoter of the triple league; but he threw himſelf, with equal alacrity, into oppoſite meaſures, when he found them agreeable to his maſter. Clifford and he were ſecretly catholics: Shafteſbury, though addicted to aſtrology, was reckoned a deiſt: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any ſteady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigoted and furious preſbyterian; and the opinions of that ſect ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his mind, how little ſoever they appeared in his conduct.

The dark counſels of the cabal were not thoroughly known, but by the event they ſeem early to have inſpired the king with a jealouſy of parliaments. They blamed the alliances which he had entered into as ſuch as could never augment the royal authority. They ſaid the French monarch alone, if gratified in his ambition, was able and willing to defend the common cauſe of kings againſt uſurping ſubjects. That under the pretence of a war againſt Holland it would not be difficult to levy a military force; and that, by ſubduing the States, a great ſtep would be made towards a reformation of the government; ſince it was apparent, that that republic,

republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious ſubjects, their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties.

This plan had not been entirely concealed; on the ſatisfaction which had been inſpired by the triple alliance, Clifford had imprudently ſaid, "Notwithſtanding all this joy we muſt have a ſecond war with Holland." De Wit had been cautioned againſt depending on England by the Swediſh ambaſſador Puffendorff, and had imparted this caution to Temple. It appeared that the money of Lewis had found its way into the Engliſh cabinet; and that Charles's miniſters had even obtained their maſter's conſent to this diſhonourabte corruption. A viſit which the king received from his ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Orléans, confirmed the ſuſpicions of all men of penetration. By her careſſes ſhe prevailed with her brother to finiſh his engagements with Lewis for the deſtruction of Holland. She brought with her a young lady of the name of Queroüaille, whom the king carried to London, and ſoon after created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole courſe of his life; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connexions with her native country.

The ſatisfaction which Charles reaped from his alliance received a check by the ſudden death of his ſiſter. Some ſuſpicions of poiſon fell on her huſband the duke of Orléans; but the general character of that prince ſeems to vindicate him from ſo black a crime.

Under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orléans, Charles ſent over Buckingham to France to concert farther meaſures for the projected war. The journey of Buckingham augmented the jealouſy of Holland, which was ſoon confirmed by the recall of Temple, a miniſter in whom de Wit placed ſuch confidence, that ſo long as he remained in employment he thought himſelf aſſured of the fidelity of England.

Charles,

Charles, however, ſtill affected to conceal his intentions: as a motive for a conſiderable ſupply he urged to his parliament the triple alliance, and the defenſive league he had entered into with the States. The artifice ſucceeded. The houſe of commons, entirely ſatisfied with the king's meaſures, voted him conſiderable ſupplies. A land-tax for a year was impoſed of a ſhilling a pound; two ſhillings a pound on two-thirds of the ſalaries of offices: fifteen ſhillings on every hundred pounds of bankers' money and ſtock; an additional exciſe upon beer for ſix years, and certain impoſitions upon law proceedings for nine years. The parliament had never before been in a more liberal humour; and never ſurely was it leſs merited by the counſels of the king and of his miniſters.

This year died the duke of Albemarle, in the ſixty-third year of his age: he left but one ſon, with whom his family ended.

A private affair at this juncture very much diſguſted the houſe of commons. A. D. 1671. It had been propoſed to lay an impoſition upon playhouſes: the courtiers objected, that the players were the king's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, aſked, "whether the "king's pleaſure lay among the male or female "players?" This ſtroke was aimed at Charles, who kept two actreſſes, Davies and Nell Gwyn. The king received it not with his wonted good humour. Some officers of the guards were ordered to way-lay Coventry, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with bravery, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was diſarmed with ſome difficulty. They cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him what reſpect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words ſpoken in the houſe. They paſſed a law, which made it capital to maim any perſon; and

they enacted, that thoſe criminals who had aſſaulted Coventry ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

About the ſame time, Blood, a diſbanded officer of the protector's, who had been attainted for an attempt to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, meditated revenge upon Ormond, whoſe vigilance had diſappointed him. He ſeized that nobleman in the midſt of London; who was with difficulty reſcued by his ſervants. Soon after Blood formed a new enterpriſe not leſs daring; it was to carry off the crown and regalia from the Tower. He was near ſucceeding; he had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had gotten out of the Tower with his prey: but was overtaken and ſeized, with ſome of his aſſociates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ring-leader. When queſtioned, he frankly avowed the enterpriſe; but refuſed to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he ſaid, "ſhould never engage him, either to deny a "guilt, or betray a friend." All theſe extraordinary circumſtances made him the general ſubject of converſation; and the king was moved, by an idle curioſity, to ſee and ſpeak with a perſon ſo noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now eſteem himſelf ſecure of pardon; and he wanted not addreſs to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged with others in a deſign to ſhoot him; but that his heart had been checked in the moment of execution by an awe of majeſty. He added, that he was indifferent as to life; but that he belonged to a confederacy who had bound themſelves by the ſtricteſt oaths to revenge the death of any one of their aſſociates. Whether Charles was moved by fear or admiration, he pardoned the villain, and granted him an eſtate of 500l. a-year in Ireland, while old Edwards, who had

had been wounded in defending the crown, was forgotten and neglected.

The death of the dutcheſs of York, which happened this year, and who finiſhed her life in the Romiſh communion, put an end to the thin diſguiſe which the duke had worn, and he now openly declared his converſion to the church of Rome.

To throw the appearance of blame in the intended rupture on the Dutch, the captain of a yatch diſpatched for lady Temple was inſtructed to ſail through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſts, and to make them ſtrike, or fire on them, and to perſevere till they ſhould return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, ſurpriſed at this bravado, came on board the yacht, and expreſſed his willingneſs to pay reſpect to the Britiſh flag, according to former practice: but that a fleet, on their own coaſts, ſhould ſtrike to a ſingle veſſel, and that not a ſhip of war, was, he ſaid, ſuch an innovation, that he durſt not, without expreſs orders, agree to it. The captain, thinking it dangerous, as well as abſurd, to renew firing in the midſt of the Dutch fleet, continued his courſe; and, for that neglect of orders, was committed to the Tower.

Downing, who had been appointed miniſter in the room of Temple, made ſtrong complaints on this head; and though the States offered the moſt ample ſatisfaction, they were inſultingly told, that the hour of negociation was paſt.

Under the pretence of maintaining the triple league, Charles had obtained a large ſupply from the commons; this was, however, exhauſted: he dared not have recourſe to that aſſembly again; and ſome new reſource was to be deviſed. The king had declared that the ſtaff of treaſurer was ready for any one that could find an expedient for ſupplying the preſent neceſſities. Shafteſbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately ſeized, and carried to A. D. 1672.

the king, who granted him the promiſed reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the ſhutting up of the Exchequer, and the retaining of all the payments which ſhould be made into it.

It had been uſual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon ſecurity of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimburſed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, ſometimes ten per cent. for ſums which either had been conſigned to them without intereſt, or which they had borrowed at ſix per cent.: profits, which they dearly paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The meaſure was ſo ſuddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confuſion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers ſtopped payment; the merchants could anſwer no bills; diſtruſt took place every where, with a ſtagnation of commerce, by which the public was univerſally affected. And men, full of diſmal apprehenſions, aſked each other, what muſt be the ſcope of thoſe myſterious counſels, whence the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements both foreign and domeſtic.

The ſuſpenſion of the penal laws, by a royal proclamation, was a ſtrong proof of the arbitrary counſels purſued at preſent by the king and his miniſtry; and the promotion of Shafteſbury to the high office of chancellor, was the reward of the diſhonourable advice which he had hinted to Clifford.

Foreign tranſactions kept pace with theſe domeſtic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, had been made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by ſir Robert Holmes; but Van Neſs, the Dutch admiral, though far inferior in force, three times repulſed the Engliſh, and conducted home his convoy with inconſiderable loſs.

This

This attempt was followed by an open declaration of war; and the moſt frivolous reaſons were employed to juſtify this flagrant violation of treaty. Among other complaints, equally ridiculous, ſome abuſive pictures are mentioned, and repreſented as the grounds of quarrel.

A ſecond declaration was about the ſame time iſſued by Lewis, in which he contented himſelf with obſerving, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear it. That monarch's preparations were in great forwardneſs; and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs. Sweden was detached from the triple league: the biſhop of Munſter was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies to take part with France: the elector of Cologne had entered into the ſame alliance; and, having conſigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter that France purpoſed to invade the United Provinces. The ſtanding force of that kingdom amounted to a hundred and eighty thouſand men; and with more than half of this great army was the French king now approaching to the Dutch frontiers.

Though de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domeſtic adminiſtration, he had received many intimations of this confederacy, but he relied on the improbability of Charles ſeriouſly entering into projects ſo dangerous to the intereſts of his own kingdom. Indeed had he been more active, too many circumſtances conſpired to render the defence of the republic feeble. By a continued and ſucceſsful application to commerce, the people were become unwarlike, and confided entirely for their defence in that mercenary army which they maintained. After the treaty of Weſtphalia, the States, truſting to their peace with Spain, and their alliance with France, had broken a great part of this army, and

did not ſupport with ſufficient vigilance the diſcipline of the troops which remained. When the ariſtocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to diſmiſs many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the houſe of Orange; and their place was ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt the party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and ſome of them, it is ſaid, were even allowed to ſerve by deputies, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay.

De Wit exerted himſelf to ſupply theſe defects; but the long and uncontrolled adminiſtration of this ſtateſman had begotten envy; and the popular opinion ſtrongly inclined towards William III. prince of Orange, who was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age; and gave ſtrong indications of thoſe great qualities, by which his life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. De Wit himſelf, by giving him an excellent education, and inſtructing him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, had generouſly contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious ſituation of his own party, he was always reſolved, he ſaid, by conveying to the prince the knowledge of affairs, to render him capable of ſerving his country, if any future emergence ſhould ever throw the adminiſtration into his hands. The conduct of William had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithſtanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburgh, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenor of his behaviour ſuited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; firm in what he once reſolved, or once denied; ſtrongly intent on buſineſs, little on pleaſure: by theſe virtues he engaged the attention of all men.

The ſtruggle between theſe factions retarded every project. The army was completed to 70,000 men; but it was without diſcipline. The prince was appointed both general and admiral of the commonwealth; but his partiſans were unſatisfied, ſo long as the *perpetual edict* remained in force, by which he was excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip.

The naval preparations were, however, haſtened by de Wit, and he ſeemed peculiarly bent on revenging himſelf on the Engliſh, of whoſe conduct, he thought, he himſelf, and his country, had much reaſon to complain. De Ruyter, who was ſtrongly attached to him in politics, commanded the Dutch fleet, which conſiſted of ninety-five ſhips of war, and forty-four fire-ſhips. He ſurpriſed in Solebay the combined fleets of France and England. The earl of Sandwich had in vain warned the duke of York of his danger. His foreſight had been attributed to fear; yet when the enemy appeared in ſight he alone, with the ſquadron he commanded, was prepared for action. He haſtened out of the bay; and the determined courage with which he attacked de Ruyter, gave time for the reſt of the fleet to form in order. He ſunk three fire-ſhips which endeavoured to grapple with him: and though his veſſel was torn in pieces with ſhot, and of a thouſand men ſhe contained near ſix hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued ſtill to thunder with all his artillery in the midſt of the enemy. But another fire-ſhip, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was now inevitable. Warned by ſir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refuſed to make his eſcape, and bravely embraced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which a raſh expreſſion of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought him with ſuch fury for

above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which that admiral had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His ſquadron was overpowered with numbers; till ſir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded to Sandwich's command, came to his aſſiſtance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs ſuſtained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh.

But on land the conqueſt was leſs doubtful. Lewis paſſed the Meuſe at Viſet, and carried in three days Orſoi. He then divided his army, and inveſted at once Burik, Weſel, Emerick, and Rhimberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided with troops: in a few days all theſe places were ſurrendered. A general aſtoniſhment had ſeized the Hollanders, from the combination of ſuch powerful princes againſt the republic; and no where was reſiſtance made ſuitable to the ancient glory or preſent greatneſs of the ſtate. Governors without experience commanded troops without diſcipline; and deſpair had univerſally extinguiſhed that ſenſe of honour, by which alone men, in ſuch dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence.

The paſſage of the Rhine, which has been ſo much celebrated by the French hiſtorians, was facilitated by the dryneſs of the ſeaſon, and the fears of the Dutch. Each ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay. In a few weeks three provinces, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht, were in the hands of Lewis. Groningen was threatened; Friezeland was expoſed: The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the

the monarch deliberated concerning the proper meaſures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to diſmantle all the towns which he had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garriſons, put himſelf in a condition of puſhing his conqueſts. Louvois, hoping that the other provinces, weak and diſmayed, would prove an eaſy prey, adviſed him to keep poſſeſſion of places which might afterwards ſerve to retain the people in ſubjection. His counſel was followed; though it was found, ſoon after, to have been the moſt impolitic.

Amſterdam alone ſeemed to retain ſome courage, and endeavoured to infuſe ſpirit into the other cities. The ſluices were opened, and the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage ſuſtained, was laid under water. All the provinces followed the example, and ſcrupled not in this extremity, to reſtore to the ſea thoſe fertile fields which, with great art and expence, had been won from it.

The ſtates were aſſembled, to conſider whether any means were left to ſave the remains of their lately flouriſhing, and now diſtreſſed commonwealth. Though they were ſurrounded with waters, which barred all acceſs to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone ſuggeſt meaſures proper to extricate them from their preſent difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereignty could be ſaved, every thing elſe ſhould without ſcruple be ſacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the ſame ſentiments. Amſterdam ſingly declared againſt all treaty with inſolent and triumphant enemies: but notwithſtanding that oppoſition, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was reſolved to ſacrifice to Lewis Maeſtricht, and all the frontier towns which lay without the bounds of the ſeven provinces; and

to pay him a large ſum for the charges of the war.

Theſe offers were far from ſatisfying the king of France. He demanded that all the frontier towns of the republic ſhould be yielded to him: that the States ſhould pay him the ſum of 20,000,000 of livres to defray the charges of the war: that they ſhould permit the public exerciſe of the Romiſh religion in the United Provinces: and that they ſhould preſent him every year with a golden medal, as an acknowledgement that they owed to him the preſervation of their liberty.

The pretenſions of Charles were ſcarce leſs exorbitant. He required that the Dutch ſhould give up the honour of the flag, without the leaſt reſerve or limitation; nor ſhould whole fleets, even on the coaſt of Holland, refuſe to ſtrike, or lower their topſails to the ſmalleſt ſhip carrying the Britiſh flag: that all perſons guilty of treaſon againſt the king, or of writing ſeditious libels, ſhould, on complaint, be baniſhed for ever the dominions of the States: that the Dutch ſhould pay the king a million ſterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thouſand pounds a-year for permiſſion to fiſh on the Britiſh ſeas: that they ſhould ſhare the Indian trade with the Engliſh: that the prince of Orange and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty of the United Provinces; at leaſt, that they ſhould be inveſted with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral, and General, in as ample a manner as had ever been enjoyed by any of his anceſtors: and that the iſle of Walcheren, the city and caſtle of Sluis, together with the iſles of Cadſant, Goree, and Vorne, ſhould be put into the king's hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of articles.

The rage of the Hollanders at theſe demands broke all bounds: but inſtead of being directed againſt their enemies, it fell upon their miniſters and leaders. De Wit was wounded, and nearly aſ-

ſaſſinated

ſaſſinated in the ſtreet; the houſe of the brave de Ruyter, the only reſource of the diſtreſſed commonwealth, was menaced; and theſe exceſſes were only preludes to more ſhocking and bloody violences.

One Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accuſed Cornelius de Wit, the brother of the penſionary, of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the deſign of poiſoning the prince of Orange. The accuſation, though attended with the moſt improbable, and even abſurd circumſtances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the ſame prejudices, or not daring to oppoſe the popular torrent, condemned him to ſuffer the queſtion. This man, who had bravely ſerved his country in war, and who had been inveſted with the higheſt dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torn in pieces by the moſt inhuman torments. Amidſt the ſevere agonies which he endured he ſtill made proteſtations of his innocence, and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained ſentiments ſuited to his deplorable condition:

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum, &c.

The judges, however, condemned him to loſe his offices, and to be baniſhed the commonwealth. The penſionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother and faithful friend during this proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him on account of the unmerited infamy which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his brother's priſon, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They roſe in arms; they broke open the doors of the priſon; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thouſand hands vied who ſhould

firſt be imbrued in their blood. Even their death did not ſatiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exerciſed on the dead bodies of thoſe virtuous citizens indignities too ſhocking to be recited; and till tired with their own fury, they permitted not the friends of the deceaſed to approach, or to beſtow on them the honours of a funeral ſilent and unattended.

The maſſacre of the de Wits placed the whole authority in the hands of the prince of Orange. The republic was united under one leader whoſe ſpirit infuſed itſelf into every heart. Inſtead of bending their necks to ſubjection, they determined, ſhould the ground fail them on which they might combat, to fly to their ſettlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted meaſures for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found that the veſſels contained in their harbours could tranſport above two hundred thouſand inhabitants to the Eaſt Indies.

The combined princes, finding at laſt ſome appearance of oppoſition, bent all their efforts to ſeduce the prince of Orange, on whoſe valour and conduct the fate of the commonwealth entirely depended. The ſovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him, and the protection of England and France, to inſure him, as well againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, as the inſurrection of his ſubjects. All propoſals were generouſly rejected; and the prince declared his reſolution to retire into Germany, and to paſs his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country, or betray the truſt repoſed in him. When Buckingham urged the inevitable deſtruction which hung over the United Provinces, and aſked him, whether he did not ſee that the commonwealth was ruined? *There is one certain means*, replied the prince,

prince, *by which I can be ſure never to ſee my country's ruin; I will die in the laſt ditch.*

Groningen was the firſt place that ſtopped the progreſs of the invaders; the biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from that town, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege with diſhonour; and Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther ſucceſs was likely for the preſent to attend his arms, had retired to Verſailles.

The emperor, though he lay at a diſtance, alarmed at the progreſs of France, began to put himſelf in motion. Brandenburgh ſhowed a diſpoſition to ſupport the States: Spain had ſent ſome forces to their aſſiſtance: A. D. 1673. but it was on the parliament of England, which the king's neceſſities had obliged him to ſummon, that the Dutch chiefly relied. That aſſembly liſtened coldly to the arguments which were uſed in juſtification of the war with Holland. Even the eloquence of Shafteſbury was ineffectual. The firſt ſtep of the commons was to remonſtrate againſt thoſe vacancies which, during their prorogation, had taken place, and had been filled up by writs from the chancellor; the members who had been thus elected were ſo aſhamed of the procedure, that they withdrew of their own accord.

Their next ſtep, though it bore more appearance of complaiſance, in reality proceeded from the ſame ſpirit of liberty and independence. They entered a reſolution, that, in order to ſupply his majeſty's extraordinary occaſions, for that was the expreſſion employed, they would grant eighteen months aſſeſſment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a-month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the king, they would not expreſs the leaſt approbation of the war; and they gave him the proſpect of this ſupply, only that they might have permiſſion to proceed peaceably in the redreſs of the other griev-

grievances, of which they had ſuch reaſon to complain.

No grievance was more alarming than the declaration of indulgence; and the commons framed a ſtrong remonſtrance againſt this exerciſe of prerogative. The king was now come to that criſis which when he embraced theſe deſperate counſels he might have foreſeen. Beſides his uſual guards, he had an army encamped on Blackheath, under the command of mareſchal Schomberg, a foreigner; and in whatever meaſures he purſued he might expect the ſupport of his ally the French king. But when he approached the danger he was ſtartled at the precipice before him. That he might yield with the better grace, he aſked the opinion of the houſe of peers, who adviſed him to comply with the commons. Accordingly the king ſent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeals. The commons expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure, and the moſt entire duty to his majeſty. Charles aſſured them that he would willingly paſs any law offered him, which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their juſt grievances.

Shafteſbury, when he found the king recede from ſo capital a point, reſolved to make his peace with thoſe who were likely to predominate; and entered immediately into the cabals of the country party, who received him with open arms.

The two houſes, however, ſeem to have been ſoftened by the king's conceſſions; and they adjourned themſelves without touching on the moſt obnoxious points—the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, or the ſhutting up of the Exchequer.

The money granted by the parliament ſufficed to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral. Three different, and indeciſive actions were fought at ſea. The laſt was the moſt obſtinate;

obſtinate: de Ruyter and Tromp, for theſe rivals had been reconciled by the prince of Orange, commanded the Dutch fleet. De Ruyter was oppoſed to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague, and Brankert to the French admiral d'Etreés. The French ſquadron kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of attacking them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occaſion did the prince acquire more deſerved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. Having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies with whom he was every where ſurrounded, and having joined ſir John Chichley, his rear-admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, he made haſte to the relief of Sprague, who was hard preſſed by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reaſon obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, rear-admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn, and, in a manner, diſabled. Sprague was leaving her, in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge, when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, took his boat, and ſunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valour the deſerved praiſes.

Prince Rupert found affairs in this dangerous ſituation, and ſaw moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled from fight. The engagement however was renewed, and became very cloſe and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into diſorder. To increaſe it, he ſent among them two fire-ſhips; and

and at the ſame time made a ſignal to the French to bear down; which if they had done, a deciſive victory muſt have enſued. But the prince, when he ſaw that they neglected his ſignal, and obſerved that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep the ſea long, wiſely provided for their ſafety by making eaſy ſail towards the Engliſh coaſt. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the preſent war.

The turn which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The prince of Orange beſieged and took Naerden; and from this ſucceſs gave his country reaſon to hope for ſtill more proſperous enterpriſes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialiſts on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the moſt artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and, making a ſudden march, ſat down before Bonne. The prince of Orange's conduct was no leſs maſterly; while he eluded all the French generals, and left them behind him, he joined his army to that of the Imperialiſts. Bonne was taken in a few days: ſeveral other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies: and the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and to abandon all his conqueſts with greater rapidity than he had at firſt made them. The taking of Maeſtricht was the only advantage which he gained this campaign.

A congreſs, which was opened at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden, was attended with no advantage. But the parliament of England, which was again aſſembled, diſcovered greater ſymptoms of jealouſy than had appeared in the laſt ſeſſions. They remonſtrated againſt a marriage which the duke of York was negociating with a catholic princeſs of the houſe of Modena: to elude this attack the king prorogued them much to their diſſatisfaction.

tion. He alſo diſmiſſed Shafteſbury, whoſe intrigues were become notorious, from the office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was given to ſir Heneage Finch, by the title of lord keeper. The teſt had incapacitated Clifford; and the white ſtaff was conferred on ſir Thomas Oſborne, ſoon after created earl of Danby, a miniſter of abilities, who had riſen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and ſoon after died.

As ſoon as the duke had concluded his marriage, the neceſſities of the king obliged him again to ſummon the parliament. The commons ſhewed a rooted diſguſt at the meaſures of the court. They addreſſed Charles againſt his guards, which they repreſented as dangerous to liberty; they took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a more rigorous teſt againſt popery. They made an attack on the members of the cabal, and even drew up articles of impeachment againſt Arlington. A. D. 1674.

The king was now convinced that he could obtain no ſupply from the commons, as long as he carried on the war with the Dutch. He therefore reſolved on a ſeparate peace. The treaty was carried on through the Spaniſh ambaſſador. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war: the Engliſh planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure: and the States agreed to pay to the king the ſum of eight hundred thouſand patacoons, near three hundred thouſand pounds. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared that ſhe could no longer remain neuter, if hoſtilities were continued againſt Holland: and a ſenſible decay of trade was foreſeen, in caſe a rupture ſhould enſue with that kingdom. The proſpect of this loſs contributed very much to increaſe the national

averſion to the preſent war, and to enliven the joy for its concluſion.

There was in the French ſervice a great body of Engliſh, to the number of ten thouſand men, who had acquired honour in every action, and had greatly contributed to the ſucceſſes of Lewis. Theſe troops, Charles ſaid, he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himſelf to the States, by a ſecret article, not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a ſtrict execution of this engagement.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

CHARLES II.

Schemes of the cabal.—Campaign of 1674.—*A parliament.—Paſſive obedience.—A parliament.—Campaign of* 1675.—*Congreſs of Nimeguen.—Campaigns of* 1676 *and* 1677.—*Parliament's diſtruſt of the king.—Marriage of the prince of Orange with the Lady Mary.—Plan of peace.—Campaign of* 1678. —*Peace of Nimeguen.—State of affairs in Scotland.* —*The Popiſh plot.—Oates's narrative and character.* —*Godfrey's murder.—General conſternation.—Bedloe's narrative.—Accuſation of Danby—his impeachment.—Diſſolution of the long parliament.—Trial and execution of Coleman, Ireland, &c.—New elections.—Duke of Monmouth.—Duke of York retires to Bruſſels.—Danby's impeachment.—New council.* —*Limitations to a Popiſh ſucceſſor.—Bill of excluſion.—Habeas Corpus bill.—Diſſolution of the parliament.—Affairs in Scotland.*

IN conſidering the projects of the famous cabal, it is hard to determine whether the ends they purſued were more pernicious, or the means they employed more impolitic. Their intention could be no other than to make the king abſolute; yet in the proſecution of this dangerous deſign, the guards, with a ſmall army new levied and undiſciplined, were the only domeſtic reſources of Charles. In truſting to the aſſiſtance of the king of France many objections occurred. If he ſent a ſmall force, it would only enrage A. D. 1674.

enrage the people; if he ſent a large one, Charles himſelf muſt depend on his generoſity for the uſe he would make of it.

In all other parts, the plan of the cabal, it muſt be confeſſed, appears equally abſurd and incongruous. If the war with Holland was attended with great ſucceſs, and involved the ſubjection of the republic, ſuch an acceſſion of force muſt fall to Lewis, not to Charles: and what hopes afterwards of reſiſting by the greateſt unanimity ſo mighty a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous, to depend upon his aſſiſtance againſt domeſtic diſcontents? If the Dutch, by their own vigour, and the aſſiſtance of allies, were able to defend themſelves, and could bring the war to an equality, the French arms would be ſo employed abroad, that no conſiderable reinforcement could thence be expected to ſecond the king's enterpriſes in England.

It is impoſſible indeed for to account for their meaſures on any other grounds than the ſuppoſition that a formal plan was laid for changing the religion, and ſubverting the conſtitution of England. The former ſeems to have been the chief object of Charles; and, it appears, a treaty in 1670 had been ſecretly ſigned in his name by lord Arundel of Wardour, by which Lewis was to allow him 200,000 pounds a-year, in order to enable him to ſettle the catholic religion in England, and was to ſupply him with 6000 men in caſe of any inſurrection. Charles, who carried not his views to diſtant conſequences, flattered himſelf, that after trying the experiment of altering the national religion, he could eaſily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But by this attempt the ſuſpicions of his people were rendered incurable; and he, ſenſible of their jealouſy, kept up his connexions with the French monarch. The duke alſo maintained a ſeparate correſpondence with the court of Verſailles, and took every ſtep, with his brother's

brother's approbation, to ſtrengthen his claim to the ſucceſſion.

Charles, at peace with all the world, had offered his influence to compoſe the differences of the contending powers. France was willing to negociate under ſo favourable a mediator. And to induce the States to the ſame acquieſcence, the king called from his retreat ſir William Temple, and appointed him ambaſſador to Holland. That wiſe miniſter ſeized the opportunity to remonſtrate to the king on the dangerous counſels of the cabal. He obſerved the impoſſibility of introducing into England the ſame ſyſtem of government and religion which was eſtabliſhed in France. To his reaſoning he added the authority of Gourville, a Frenchman, for whom he knew the king had entertained a great eſteem. "A king of England," ſaid Gourville, "who will be *the man of his people*, is the greateſt "king in the world: but if he will be any thing "more, he is nothing at all." The king heard, at firſt, this diſcourſe with ſome impatience; but being a dextrous diſſembler, he ſeemed moved at laſt, and laying his hand on Temple's, ſaid, with an apparent cordiality, "And I will be the man of "my people."

Temple, when he went abroad, ſoon found the ſcheme of mediating a peace would prove abortive. Spain demanded that all things in Flanders ſhould be reſtored to the condition in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The emperor had high pretenſions in Alſace; and the prince of Orange, who influenced the councils of the Dutch, was all on fire for military fame, and well pleaſed to be at the head of great armies. The ſucceſs of the campaign had not, however, anſwered his expectations. He had fought a doubtful battle with the prince of Condé, at Seneffe. The latter obſerved, with candour and generoſity, "That the prince of Orange "has acted, in every thing, like an old captain, "except venturing his life too like a young ſoldier."

Oudenarde was afterwards inveſted by the prince of Orange; but he was obliged, by the Imperial and Spaniſh generals, to raiſe the ſiege on the approach of the enemy. He afterwards beſieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the allied armies broke up, with great diſcontents and complaints on all ſides.

The allies were not more ſucceſsful in other places. Lewis, in a few weeks, reconquered Franchecompté. In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed, againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill, which had long rendered him the moſt renowned captain of his age and nation. By a ſudden and forced march, he attacked and beat at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, general of the Imperialiſts. Seventy thouſand Germans poured into Alſace, and took up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had retired into Lorrain, returned unexpectedly upon them. He attacked and defeated a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He chaſed from Colmar the elector of Brandenburgh, who commanded the German troops. He gained a new advantage at Turkheim. And, having diſlodged all the allies, he obliged them to repaſs the Rhine, full of ſhame for their multiplied defeats, and ſtill more, of anger and complaints againſt each other.

Theſe events were regarded in England with great anxiety. Some changes about this time took place in the miniſtry. Buckingham was diſmiſſed; and Danby, who was treaſurer, and a frugal miniſter, gained ground with the king. Though an enemy to the French alliance, he had not ſufficient influence to overcome Charles's pre-

A. D. 1675. poſſeſſions for it. The parliament that was aſſembled diſcovered, however, great ill humour at the king's meaſures. A bill that was introduced into the houſe of peers by the earl of Lindeſey for a new teſt, augmented their jealouſy. All members of either houſe, and all who poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed any office, were by this bill required to ſwear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king; that they abhorred the traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by him; and that they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the proteſtant religion, or of the eſtabliſhed government either in church or ſtate.

It was debated ſeventeen days; and carried only by two voices in the houſe of peers; and it was ſent down to the houſe of commons, where it was likely to undergo a ſcrutiny ſtill more ſevere. But a quarrel between the two houſes prevented the paſſing of any bill during that ſeſſion. It originated in ſir John Fag, a member of the houſe of commons, being cited, in an appeal from the court of chancery, to appear before the lords. Both parties aſſerted their different powers; and the king, after in vain exhorting them to unanimity, finding that no buſineſs could be finiſhed, prorogued the parliament.

When it was again aſſembled, there appeared not in any reſpect a change in the diſpoſitions of either houſe. The commons, at the king's earneſt repreſentations, voted indeed the ſum of 300,000 pounds for the building of ſhips; but they appropriated the ſum by very ſtrict clauſes. The quarrel, to which ſir John Fag had given occaſion, was revived; and as it was carried on with great violence, the king prorogued the parliament to a diſtant term.

This campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates. The prince of Orange checked in Flanders the progreſs of Lewis; who, after taking Huy and Limburg, returned to Verſailles. On the Upper Rhine, Turenne, at the moment when he had prepared to give battle to his rival Montecuculi, was killed by a random ball. The French, who conſidered themſelves vanquiſhed by his death, immediately retreated. A detachment of the Imperial army defeated mareſchal Crequi, and carried

Treves. The Swedes were routed by the elector of Brandenburgh, and the only advantage gained by the French was at ſea. Meſſina in Sicily had revolted; and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was diſpatched to ſupport the rebels. The Dutch had ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards. A battle enſued, where de Ruyter was killed. This event alone was thought equivalent to a victory.

But the ſucceſſes of the allies were
A. D. 1676. not ſuch as to bend France to the terms they reſolved to impoſe on her. The congreſs that had been aſſembled at Nimeguen, under the mediation of Charles, ſerved merely for the public amuſement. It was by the events of the campaign that the articles of peace were to be determined. In the month of April Lewis laid ſiege to Condé, and took it by ſtorm in four days. Having ſent the duke of Orleans to beſiege Bouchaine, a ſmall but important fortreſs, he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly with his main army, as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting without diſadvantage. The prince of Orange, in ſpite of the difficulties of the ſeaſon, and the want of proviſions, came in ſight of the French army; but his induſtry ſerved to no other purpoſe than to render him ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchaine. Both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action, which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Lewis, though he wanted not perſonal courage, was little enterpriſing in the field; and being reſolved this campaign to reſt contented with the advantages which he had ſo early obtained, he thought proper to intruſt his army to mareſchal Schomberg, and retired himſelf to Verſailles. After his departure, the prince of Orange laid ſiege to Maeſtricht; but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, he was obliged, on the approach of Schomberg, who in the mean time had taken Aire, to raiſe the ſiege. He was incapable of yielding to adverſity, or bending under misfortunes;

tunes: but he began to foreſee, that, by the negligence and errors of his allies, the war in Flanders muſt neceſſarily have a very unfortunate iſſue.

On the Upper Rhine Philipſbourg was taken by the Imperialiſts. In Pomerania the Swedes were ſo unſucceſsful againſt the Danes and Brandenburghers, that they ſeemed to be loſing apace all thoſe poſſeſſions, which, with ſo much valour and good fortune, they had acquired in Germany.

About the beginning of winter, the congreſs of Nimeguen was pretty full; and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Spain, two powers ſtrictly conjoined by blood and alliance, at laſt appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they abſented themſelves any longer, to proceed to a ſeparate treaty with France. In the conferences and negociations, the diſpoſition of the parties became every day more apparent.

The Hollanders, loaded with taxes, and their commerce ſinking, were de- A. D. 1677.
ſirous of peace. They had themſelves no farther motive for continuing the war, than to ſecure a good frontier to Flanders; but gratitude to their allies ſtill engaged them to try whether another campaign might procure a peace which would give general ſatisfaction. The prince of Orange, urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep them ſteady to this reſolution.

The Spaniards, diſtracted with domeſtic diſſentions between the parties of the queen-regent, and don John, natural brother to their ſovereign, were yet reſolute not to enter into any treaty which would leave Flanders expoſed to every inroad; and while they made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the States, their real truſt was in the protection of England. They thought it impoſſible but the people and parliament of that country muſt at laſt force the king to take part in the affairs of the continent. He

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was continually incited to this ſtep by his miniſters, Arlington and Danby. But he had actually in ſecret ſold his neutrality to France; and though he knew while the war continued he ſhould enjoy no peace at home, he could not reſolve to impoſe a peace by openly joining himſelf with either party.

He had opened the parliament with ſtrong profeſſions of future economy: and of his inclinations to conſent to any laws for the farther ſecurity of religion and property. Before that aſſembly entered upon buſineſs, they were ſtopped by a doubt concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward III. "That par-"liaments ſhould be held once every year, or oft-"ner, if need be." The laſt prorogation had been longer than a year; and being ſuppoſed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a diſſolution. The conſequence ſeems by no means juſt; and beſides a later act than that which repealed the triennial law, had determined, that it was neceſſary to hold parliaments only once in three years. Such weight, however, was put on this cavil, that Buckingham, Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and Wharton, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly in the houſe of peers on the invalidity of the parliament, and the nullity of all its future acts. For ſuch dangerous poſitions, they were ſent to the Tower, there to remain during the pleaſure of his majeſty and the houſe. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and Wharton made ſubmiſſions, and were ſoon after releaſed. But Shafteſbury, more obſtinate in his temper, and deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his adherence to liberty, ſought the remedy of the law; and being rejected by the judges, he was, at laſt, after a twelvemonth's impriſonment, obliged to make the ſame ſubmiſſions; upon which he was alſo releaſed.

The commons at firſt ſeemed to proceed with temper. They granted the ſum of 586,000 pounds, for building thirty ſhips; though they ſtrictly appropriated the money to that ſervice. Eſtimates were given

given in of the expence; but it was afterwards found that they fell ſhort near 100,000 pounds. They alſo voted, agreeably to the king's requeſt, the continuance of the additional exciſe for three years. This exciſe had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a peaceable and an eaſy ſeſſion.

But from this tranquillity they were rouſed by the intelligence of the defeat of the prince of Orange by mareſchal Luxemburgh; and the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer by Lewis. They immediately addreſſed the king, repreſenting the danger the kingdom was expoſed to from the greatneſs of France; and they empowered him, as he pleaded the want of money, to raiſe 200,000l. on the exciſe. Charles, in return, told them that unleſs they granted him the ſum of 600,000l. it would be impoſſible for him, without expoſing the nation to manifeſt danger, to anſwer the end of their addreſſes. But the houſe of commons was now regularly divide into two parties, the *Court*, and the *Country*: on this occaſion the latter preponderated; a general diſtruſt of the king prevailed. Inſtead of granting the ſupply, they voted an addreſs, wherein they "beſought his majeſty to enter into a league, "offenſive and defenſive, with the States-General "of the United Provinces, againſt the growth and "power of the French king, and for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands: and to make "ſuch other alliances with the confederates as ſhould "appear fit and uſeful to that end." They ſupported their advice with reaſons; and promiſed ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies for preſerving his majeſty's honour and enſuring the ſafety of the public. The king pretended the higheſt anger at this addreſs, which he repreſented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in ſevere terms; and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

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This was the critical moment when the king might have preſerved the balance of power in Europe; but he had privately concerted meaſures with France, and he had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He ſought however for expedients to appeaſe the murmurs of the people, which every day increaſed. He knew that during the late war with Holland, the malcontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued ſtill to neglect the prince's intereſts, and to thwart the inclinations of his own people, he apprehended leſt their common complaints ſhould cement a laſting union between them. He ſaw that the religion of the duke inſpired the nation with diſmal apprehenſions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princeſſes to be educated in the proteſtant faith, ſomething farther, he thought, was neceſſary in order to ſatisfy the nation. He entertained, therefore, propoſals for marrying the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, the elder princeſs, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had no male iſſue), and he hoped, by ſo tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his intereſts. A peace he purpoſed to make; ſuch as would ſatisfy France, and ſtill preſerve his connections with that crown: And he intended to ſanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and reſpected throughout Europe. All the reaſons for this alliance were ſeconded by the ſolicitations of Danby, and alſo of Temple, who was at that time in England: and Charles at laſt granted permiſſion to the prince, when the campaign ſhould be over, to pay him a viſit.

The king very graciouſly received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon buſineſs; but the prince deſired firſt to be acquainted with the lady Mary: and he declared, that, contrary to the uſual ſentiments of perſons of his rank, he placed a great part of happineſs in domeſtic

meſtic ſatisfaction, and would not, upon any conſideration of intereſt or politics, match himſelf with a perſon diſagreeable to him. He was introduced to the princeſs, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her perſon and her behaviour. The king now thought that he had a double tie upon him, and might ſafely expect his compliance with every propoſal: he was ſurpriſed to find the prince decline all diſcourſe of buſineſs, and refuſe to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage ſhould be finiſhed. He foreſaw, he ſaid, from the ſituation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expoſe himſelf to the reproach of having ſacrificed their intereſts to promote his own purpoſes. Charles ſtill believed, notwithſtanding the cold, ſevere manner of the prince, that he would abate of this rigid punctilio of honour; and he protracted the time, hoping, by his own inſinuation and addreſs, as well as by the allurements of love and ambition, to win him to compliance. One day, Temple found the prince in very bad humour, repenting that he had ever come to England, and reſolute in a few days to leave it: but before he went, the king, he ſaid, muſt chuſe the terms on which they ſhould hereafter live together: he was ſure it muſt be like the greateſt friends or the greateſt enemies: and he deſired Temple to inform his maſter next morning of theſe intentions. Charles was ſtruck with this menace, and foreſaw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He reſolved, therefore, immediately to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's honeſty, he told Temple that the marriage was concluded, and deſired him to inform the duke of it, as of an affair already reſolved on. The duke ſeemed ſurpriſed; but yielded a prompt obedience: which, he ſaid, was his conſtant maxim to whatever he found to be the king's pleaſure. No meaſure, during this reign, gave ſuch general

general ſatisfaction. All parties ſtrove who ſhould moſt applaud it. And even Arlington, who had been kept out of the ſecret, told the prince, "That "ſome things, good in themſelves, were ſpoiled "by the manner of doing them, as ſome things "bad were mended by it; but he would confeſs, "that this was a thing ſo good in itſelf, that the "manner of doing it could not ſpoil it."

The marriage was a great ſurpriſe to Lewis; yet that monarch began gradually to reſume his influence over the Engliſh councils. It had been reſolved between Charles and the prince of Orange, that France ſhould reſtore Lorrain to the duke; with Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, Athe, Charleroi, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Binche to Spain, in order to form a good frontier for the Low Countries. This news was intimated to Lewis by the earl of Feverſham. That prince received the meſſage with ſeeming complacency. He obſerved that his brother of England well knew that he might always be maſter of the peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders it ſeemed very hard to demand, eſpecially Tournay, upon whoſe fortifications ſuch immenſe ſums had been expended: he would therefore take ſome ſhort time to conſider of an anſwer. Feverſham ſaid, that he was limited to two days ſtay: but when that time was elapſed, he was prevailed on to remain ſome few days longer; and he came away at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. Lewis ſaid, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: and with regard to them too, he would ſend orders to his ambaſſador at London to treat with the king himſelf. Charles was ſoftened by the ſoftneſs of France; and the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambaſſador, Barillon, owned at laſt, that he had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about ſome equivalent for that fortreſs, if the king abſolutely inſiſted upon it. The prince was gone, who had given ſpirit to the Engliſh court; and the

negociation began to draw out into meſſages and returns from Paris.

By intervals, however, the king ſtill ſhowed ſome firmneſs and reſolution; he propoſed to form a treaty of alliance, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain into the terms propoſed. The prince of Orange, though he diſapproved, reſolved to make the beſt of this meaſure; and as Spain ſecretly conſented that her ally ſhould form a league, which was ſeemingly directed againſt her as well as France, but which was to fall only on the latter, the States concluded the treaty in the terms propoſed by the king.

Meanwhile the Engliſh parliament met; and great jealouſy prevailed among the members. In all debates ſevere ſpeeches were made; and the commons not only appointed a day to conſider the ſtate of the kingdom with regard to popery, but voted that they would lay no farther charge on the people till ſecured againſt the prevalence of the catholic party. A. D. 1678.

The king of France knew how to avail himſelf of theſe diſtractions: by his emiſſaries he repreſented to the Dutch the imprudence of their depending on England. He enforced his arguments by his operations in the field; and the capture of Ghent and Ypres. An army of above 20,000 men, which had been levied in a few weeks in England, and part of which, under the duke of Monmouth, had landed at Oſtend, did not alarm him. Charles, diſguſted at the commons, began again to lend an ear to the propoſals of Lewis, who offered him great ſums of money, if he would conſent to France's making an advantageous peace with the allies.

Temple, though preſſed by the king, refuſed to have any concern in ſo diſhonourable a negociation: but he informs us, that the king ſaid, there was one article propoſed, which ſo incenſed him, that, as long as he lived, he ſhould never forget it. Sir William goes no farther; but the editor of his works,

works, the famous Dr. Swift, ſays, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the king ſhould engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in Great Britain. Charles broke into a paſſion. "Cod's-"fiſh," ſaid he, (his uſual oath) "does my brother "of France think to ſerve me thus? Are all his "promiſes to make me abſolute maſter of my "people come to this? Or does he think *that* a "thing to be done with eight thouſand men?"

Van Beverning, the Dutch ambaſſador, was eager for peace. The terms that he concerted for a general treaty were, however, much worſe for the Spaniards than thoſe that had been planned by the king and prince of Orange. Ypres, Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournay were to be left with France. Great murmurs on this account aroſe in England; and Charles, dreading the conſequences of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, now really longed for war. An opportunity ſoon offered. The French miniſters had declared, that they would reſtore none of the towns taken from Spain, until perfect ſatisfaction had been given to their allies the Swedes. Charles informed of theſe pretenſions, diſpatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous meaſures for oppoſing France. Temple in ſix days concluded a treaty, by which Lewis was obliged to declare, within ſixteen days after the date, that he would preſently evacuate the towns: and in caſe of his refuſal, Holland was bound to continue the war, and England to declare immediately againſt France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

Theſe warlike meaſures were ill ſeconded by the parliament: the intrigues of France had been felt by the country party; who, jealous of their own ſovereign, fed the flame of diſcontent with French gold. They even voted, that the army ſhould be diſbanded. All that Charles could obtain was to prolong the term with regard to theſe forces. In the

the mean time every thing on the continent bore the appearance of war. The negociation at Nimeguen, however, ſtill continued; when on the morning, which was to determine, the French ambaſſadors informed Van Beverning, that they received orders to conſent to the evacuation of the towns, and to ſign the peace. The papers were immediately drawn and ſubſcribed by the miniſters of France and Holland. By this treaty France ſecured the poſſeſſion of Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omer's, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Caſſel, &c. and reſtored to Spain only Charleroi, Coutrai, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg.

The ambaſſadors of the allies loudly exclaimed againſt the conduct of Van Beverning, and the treaty. It was hoped, that the States would diſavow his authority and renew the war. The prince of Orange even took an extraordinary ſtep, in order to engage them to that meaſure; or perhaps to give vent to his own ſpleen and reſentment. The day after ſigning the peace at Nimeguen, he attacked the French army at St. Dennis near Mons; and gained ſome advantage over Luxembourg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war to be finiſhed. The prince knew, at leaſt had reaſon to believe, that the peace was ſigned, though it had not been formally notified to him; and he here ſacrificed wantonly, without a proper motive, the lives of many brave men on both ſides, who fell in this ſharp and well-conteſted action.

This circumſtance joined to the ſolicitations of Charles, who ſeemed now determined on a war with France, did not prevent the States from ratifying the treaty of Nimeguen; it was reluctantly acceded to by the other powers; and peace was conſequently reſtored to Europe; but a ſtrong ſpirit of indignation exiſted among the Engliſh againſt their ſovereign, whoſe ſupineneſs and irreſolution had ſuffered Louis to make ſuch important acquiſitions. In Scot-

land alſo religious differences ran high, conventicles multiplied in the weſt; and the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were frequently inſulted. To repreſs the riſing ſpirit of Preſbyterianiſm, a new parliament had in 1669 been aſſembled at Edinburgh; and Lauderdale was ſent down commiſſioner. He had ſuch influence as to get two acts paſſed which were of great conſequence to the eccleſiaſtical and civil liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the ſettling of all things with regard to the external government of the church was a right to the crown: That whatever related to eccleſiaſtical meetings, maſters, and perſons, was to be ordered according to ſuch directions as the king ſhould ſend to his privy-council: And that theſe, being publiſhed by them, ſhould have the force of laws. The other act regarded the militia, which the king, by his own authority, had two years before eſtabliſhed, inſtead of the army, which was diſbanded. By this act the militia was ſettled, to the number of 22,000 men, who were to be conſtantly armed and regularly diſciplined. And it was farther enacted, that theſe troops ſhould be held in readineſs to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the king's dominions, for any cauſe in which his majeſty's authority, power, or greatneſs, was concerned; on receiving orders, not from the king himſelf, but from the privy-council of Scotland.

Theſe ſervices promoted Lauderdale by degree to the ſituation of prime, or rather ſole miniſter of Scotland. And the ſeverity with which he acted againſt the covenanters, raiſed up a party againſt him, of which duke Hamilton was the head. Charles, however, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of the latter, ſtill continued Lauderdale in authority, whoſe private deportment was as inſolent and provoking, as his public adminiſtration was violent and tyrannical. The caſe indeed of Mitchel ſhows that he was as much deſtitute of truth and honour, as of lenity and juſtice.

Mitchel

Mitchel had made an unſucceſsful attempt on the life of Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. He had however, eſcaped unſuſpected. When ſome years after Sharpe remarked one who ſeemed to eye him very eagerly; and being ſtill anxious leſt an attempt of aſſaſſination ſhould be renewed, he ordered the man to be ſeized and examined. Two loaded piſtols were found upon him; and as he was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promiſed, that, if he would confeſs his guilt, he ſhould be diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. Mitchel (for the conjecture was juſt) was ſo credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithleſs primate. The council, having no proof againſt him, but hoping to involve the whole body of covenanters in this odious crime, ſolemnly renewed the promiſe of pardon, if he would make a full diſcovery; and it was a great diſappointment to them, when they found, upon his confeſſion, that only one perſon, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody purpoſe. Mitchel was then carried before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confeſſion; but being apprehenſive leſt, though a pardon for life had been promiſed him, other corporal puniſhment might ſtill be inflicted, he refuſed compliance, and was ſent back to priſon. He was examined before the council, was put to the queſtion, and endured the torture without ſhrinking; and was confined in a priſon, loaded with irons, until the year 1677, when he was brought to his trial for an attempt to aſſaſſinate an archbiſhop and privy counſellor. His former confeſſion was pleaded againſt him, and atteſted by Lauderdale, and the primate himſelf. Mitchel in vain aſſerted, that he had been engaged to make that confeſſion by a ſolemn promiſe of pardon. The privy-councillors denied, upon oath, that any ſuch promiſe had been given to him. They refuſed his requeſt, that their books might be produced in court; but they were not aware that the promiſe of pardon, having been engroſſed by the clerk in the narrative of Mitch confeſſion, the whole minutes had been ſigned

the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record. Lauderdale was inclined to pardon, but the primate inſiſted on his execution; and the unhappy victim ſuffered at Edinburgh.

The rigour exerciſed againſt conventicles, had only increaſed the zeal of thoſe who frequented them; by a flouriſh of rhetorick, they had in a law enacted againſt them, been called the ſeminaries of rebellion; and this expreſſion Lauderdale and the privy council were willing to underſtand in a literal ſenſe; againſt the weſtern counties where the conventicles moſt abounded, they armed, and let looſe the highlanders, who trained up in rapine and violence, marked their footſteps with blood and devaſtation. Leſt the cry of an oppreſſed people ſhould reach the throne, the council forbad, under ſevere penalties, all noblemen or gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom. This did not prevent Caſſils, Hamilton, and Tweedale, proceeding to London, and laying their complaints before the king. Charles, indeed, gave orders for ſtopping in ſome meaſure theſe violent proceedings; but he is reported to have obſerved at the ſame time, "though Lauderdale appeared to "have been guilty of many bad things againſt the "people of Scotland, I cannot find that he has acted "in any inſtance, againſt my intereſt." A ſentiment unworthy of a ſovereign.

The language and conduct of the king daily tended to increaſe the prejudices, and ſuſpicions of his ſubjects. Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the ſcope of all projects. The terror of each man became the ſource of terror to another; and hence we are to account for the progreſs of the popiſh plot, and the credit given to it; an event which would otherwiſe appear altogether inexplicable.

On the 12th of Auguſt, one Kirby, a chemiſt, informed the king, that there was a deſign againſt his life; that two men called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to ſhoot him; and ſir George Wake-

man, the queen's phyciſian, to poiſon him. This intelligence he ſaid, he had from doctor Tongue, a reſtleſs intriguing divine. Tongue, declared to the treaſurer Danby, that the papers which contained the information had been ſecretly thruſt under his door, and though he ſuſpected, he did not certainly know, who was the author. After a few days he returned, and told the treaſurer, that his ſuſpicions, he found, was juſt; and that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the ſtreet, had acknowledged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular account of the conſpiracy, but deſired that his name might be concealed, being apprehenſive leſs the papiſts ſhould murder him.

The information was renewed with regard to Grove's and Pickering's intentions of ſhooting the king; and Tongue even pretended, that, at a particular time, they were to ſet out for Windſor with that intention. Orders were given for arreſting them, as ſoon as they ſhould appear in that place: but though this alarm was more than once renewed, ſome frivolous reaſons were ſtill found by Tongue for their having delayed the journey. And the king concluded, both from theſe evaſions, and from the myſterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was an impoſture.

The matter had probably ſlept for ever, had not the duke, underſtanding that his own confeſſor's name had been mingled in it, inſiſted that an enquiry ſhould be made by the council into the pretended conſpiracy. Kirby and Tongue were enquired after; and found to be living in cloſe connection with Titus Oates, who was ſaid to have conveyed the firſt intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that the he had fallen under ſuſpicion with the Jeſuits; that he had received three blows with a ſtick, and a box on the ear from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conſpiracy: and that, over-hearing them ſpeak of their intentions to puniſh him more ſeverely, he had withdrawn, and concealed himſelf. As Oates expected more encouragement from the

public, than from the king or his miniſters, he thought proper, before he was preſented to the council, to go with his two companions to ſir Edmundſbury Godfrey, a noted and active juſtice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conſpiracy.

The intelligence of Oates was to this purpoſe: The pope having aſſumed the ſovereignty of England and Ireland, on account of the hereſy of the prince and people, had delegated his authority to the ſociety of Jeſuits, whoſe general, had ſupplied by commiſſions, all the chief offices, both civil and military. Lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treaſurer, ſir William Godolphin privy ſeal, Coleman ſecretary of ſtate, Langhorne attorney general, lord Bellaſis general of the papal army, lord Peters lieutenant-general, lord Stafford paymaſter; and inferior commiſſions, ſigned by the provincial of the Jeſuits, were diſtributed all over England. All the dignities too of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The king, by a conſult of the Jeſuits, was to be put to death, 15000 l. were promiſed to ſir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, and five thouſand had been paid him by advance; leſt this means ſhould fail, four Iriſh ruffians had been hired by the Jeſuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to ſtab the king at Windſor; and Coleman, ſecretary to the late ducheſs of York, had given the meſſenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were alſo employed to ſhoot the king with ſilver bullets: the former was to receive the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thouſand maſſes, which, eſtimating maſſes at a ſhilling a-piece, amounted to a like value. In ſhort, it was determined to uſe the expreſſion of a Jeſuit, that if he would not become R. C. (Roman Catholic) he ſhould no longer be C. R. (Charles Rex). The great fire of London had been the work of

of the Jeſuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-ſix perſons for that purpoſe, and had expended ſeven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their money, for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the amount of fourteen thouſand pounds: there were 20,000 Catholics in London, who would riſe in twenty-four hours or leſs; 8000 had agreed to take arms in Scotland, Ormond was to be murdered by four Jeſuits, Coleman had remitted 200,000l. to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French king was to land a great army in that iſland. After all this the crown was to be offered to the duke, but on the following conditions; that he receive it as a gift from the pope; that he confirm all the papal commiſſions for offices and employments; that he ratify all paſt tranſactions, by pardoning the incendaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and that he conſent to the utter extirpation of the proteſtant religion. If he refuſe theſe conditions, he himſelf was immediately to be poiſoned or aſſaſſinated, *To pot James muſt go*; according to the expreſſion aſcribed by Oates to the Jeſuits.

Oates, the informer of this dreadful plot, was himſelf the moſt infamous of mankind. He was the ſon of an anabaptiſt preacher, chaplain to colonel Pride; but having taken orders in the church, he had been ſettled in a ſmall living by the duke of Norfolk. He had been indicted for perjury; and by ſome means had eſcaped. He was afterwards a chaplain on board the fleet; whence he had been diſmiſſed on complaint of ſome unnatural practices, not fit to be named. He then became a convert to the catholics; but he afterwards boaſted, that his converſion was a mere pretence, in order to get into their ſecrets and to betray them. He was ſent over to the Jeſuits' college at St. Omers, and though above thirty years of age, he there lived ſome time among the ſtudents. He was diſpatched on an errand to Spain; and thence returned to St. Omers; where the Jeſuits, heartily tired of their convert, at laſt

diſmiſſed him from their ſeminary. It is likely, that, from reſentment of this uſage, as well as from want and indigence, he was induced, in combination with Tongue, to contrive that plot, of which he accuſed the catholics.

This abandoned man, when examined before the council, betrayed his impoſtures in ſuch a manner, as would have utterly diſcredited the moſt conſiſtent ſtory, and the moſt reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he ſaid, to Don John, who promiſed great aſſiſtance to the execution of the catholic deſigns. The king aſked him, what ſort of a man Don John was: He anſwered, a tall lean man; directly contrary to truth, as the king well knew. He totally miſtook the ſituation of the Jeſuits' college at Paris. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuſe than that his ſight was bad in candle-light. He fell into like miſtakes with regard to Wakeman.

Notwithſtanding theſe objections, the plot very ſoon became the ſource of terror to the people. Danby, who ſtood in oppoſition to the French court, was willing to encourage the ſtory; and by his ſuggeſtions, Coleman was ordered to be arreſted, and his papers ſeized, a circumſtance attended with the moſt important conſequences.

Coleman, a fiery zealot, had engaged in a correſpondence with father la Chaiſe, the confeſſor of the French king, and in his letters had deſcribed the duke, as impatient to convert the kingdom to the catholic religion. The king, he affirmed, was inclined to favour the catholics. "Money," adds he, "cannot fail of perſuading the king to any thing. "There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it "ever ſo much to his prejudice. It has ſuch an ab- "ſolute power over him, that he cannot reſiſt it. "Logic, built upon money, has in our court more "powerful charms than any other ſort of argument." For theſe reaſons, he propoſed to father la Chaiſe, that

that the French king ſhould remit the ſum of 300,000 pounds, on condition that the parliament be diſſolved; a meaſure to which, he affirmed, that the king was, of himſelf, ſufficiently inclined, were it not for his hopes of obtaining money from that aſſembly.

When the contents of theſe letters were publicly known, they diffuſed the panic. Oates's plot and Coleman's were univerſally confounded together: and the evidence of the latter being unqueſtionable, the belief of the former, aided by the paſſions of hatred and of terror, took poſſeſſion of the whole people.

There was danger, however, leſt time might open the eyes of the public; when the murder of Godfrey completed the general deluſion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation abſolutely incurable. This magiſtrate had been miſſing ſome days; and after much ſearch, and many ſurmiſes, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primroſe-hill: the marks of ſtrangling were thought to appear about his neck, and ſome contuſions on his breaſt: his own ſword was ſticking in the body; but as no conſiderable quantity of blood enſued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thruſt in after his death, and that he had not killed himſelf: he had rings on his fingers, and money in his pocket: it was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reaſoning, the cry roſe, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the papiſts, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with univerſal belief. In order to propagate the popular frenzy, ſeveral artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vaſt multitudes. It was publicly expoſed in the ſtreets, and viewed by all ranks of men; and every one, who ſaw it, went away inflamed, as well by the mutual contagion of ſentiments, as by the diſmal ſpectacle itſelf. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. The corpſe was conducted through the chief ſtreets of the city; ſeventy-two clergymen marched

marched before: above a thouſand perſons of diſtinction followed after: and at the funeral ſermon, two able-bodied divines mounted the pulpit, and ſtood on each ſide of the preacher, leſt, in paying the laſt duties to this unhappy magiſtrate, he ſhould, before the whole people, be murdered by the papiſts.

It appears, however, that Godfrey ſo far from acting with ſeverity againſt the catholics, lived on good terms with them, and therefore, was not likely to be aſſaſſinated by that ſect. He had even contracted an intimacy with Coleman, and had informed him of the danger to which he was expoſed by Oates's evidence. It is moſt probable, his death had no connection with the popiſh plot. Any man, eſpecially ſo active a magiſtrate as Godfrey, might, in ſuch a city as London, have many enemies, of whom his friends and family had no ſuſpicion. He was a melancholy man; and there is ſome reaſon, notwithſtanding the pretended appearances to the contrary, to ſuſpect that he fell by his own hands. The affair was never examined with tranquillity, or even with common ſenſe, during the time; and it is impoſſible for us, at this diſtance, certainly to account for it.

While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was aſſembled. The king in his ſpeech to them ſcarcely mentioned the plot, which he was unwilling to ſubmit to their diſcuſſion; but, Danby who courted popularity, laid open the matter to the Houſe of Peers. Charles was extremely diſpleaſed with this temerity, and told his miniſter, "Though "you do not believe it, you will find, that you have "given the parliament a handle to ruin yourſelf, as "well as to diſturb all my affairs; and you will "ſurely live to repent it." Danby had afterwards ſufficient reaſon to applaud the ſagacity of his maſter.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one houſe to the other; a ſolemn faſt was not only voted, but addreſſes paſſed for ſuch papers as might diſcover

diſcover the horrible conſpiracy; for the removal of popiſh recuſants from London; for adminiſtering every where the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy; for denying acceſs at court to all unknown or ſuſpicious perſons; and for appointing the trainbands of London and Weſtminſter to be in readineſs. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellaſis, were committed to the Tower, and were ſoon after impeached for high treaſon. And both houſes, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the lords "and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, "and ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived "and carried on by the popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſ- "ſinating the king, for ſubverting the government, "and for rooting out and deſtroying the proteſtant "religion."

Oates was applauded and careſſed; he was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a penſion of 1200 pounds a year. Such bountiful encouragement brought forth new witneſſes. William Bedloe, a man, if poſſible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next on the ſtage. He was of very low birth; and had been noted for ſeveral cheats, and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and frequently paſſed himſelf for a man of quality. He denied any knowledge of Oates; and at firſt confined his intelligence to Godfrey's murder, which he ſaid had been perpetrated in Somerſet-houſe, where the queen lived, by the papiſts. He ſoon, however, enlarged his information; he aſſerted, that Hull was to be ſurpriſed by forces from Flanders; and Jerſey and Guernſey by troops from Breſt; that lords Powys and Peters were to form another army in Radnorſhire; and were to be joined by 30,000 pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Jago; that there were forty thouſand men ready in London; that lord Strafford, Coleman, and father Ireland, had money ſufficient to defray the expences of theſe armaments; that the king was to be aſſaſſinated; all the proteſtants maſſacred,

ſacred, who would not ſeriouſly be converted; the government offered to ONE, if he would conſent to hold it of the church, but if he ſhould refuſe that condition, as was ſuſpected, the ſupreme authority would be given to certain lords under the nomination of the pope. In a ſubſequent examination before the commons, Bedloe added (for theſe men always brought out their intelligence ſucceſſively and by piece-meal) that lord Carrington was alſo in the conſpiracy for raiſing men and money againſt the government; as was likewiſe lord Brudenel. Theſe noblemen, with all the other perſons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to cuſtody by the parliament.

Notwithſtanding the abſurdities which were ſo evident in this account, and though no papers on the ſtricteſt ſearch were found to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, the nation went into the eager purſuit and belief of the conſpiracy. The king ſaw the torrent was too ſtrong to be controlled. A bill had been introduced for a new teſt, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members who refuſed this teſt, were excluded from both houſes. The bill paſſed the commons without much oppoſition; but in the upper houſe the duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour. With great earneſtneſs, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to caſt himſelf on their kindneſs, in the greateſt concern which he could have in the world; and he proteſted, that whatever his religion might be, it ſhould only be a private *thing* between God and his own ſoul, and never ſhould appear in his public conduct. Notwithſtanding this ſtrong effort in ſo important a point, he prevailed only by two voices; a ſufficient indication of the general diſpoſition of the people.

Encouraged by this general fury, the witneſſes went a ſtep farther; and were ſo audacious as to accuſe the queen herſelf of entering into the deſign againſt the life of her huſband. The commons gave

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countenance to this ſcandalous accuſation. And here, if any where, we may ſuſpect the ſuggeſtions of the popular leaders to have had place. The king, it was well known, bore no great affection to his conſort; and now, more than ever, when his brother and heir was ſo much hated, had reaſon to be deſirous of iſſue, which might quiet the jealous fears of his people. This very hatred, which prevailed againſt the duke, would much facilitate, he knew, any expedient that could be deviſed for the excluſion of that prince; and nothing farther ſeemed requiſite for the king, than to give way in this particular to the rage and fury of the nation. But Charles, notwithſtanding all allurements of pleaſure, or intereſt, or ſafety, had the generoſity to protect his injured conſort. "They think," ſaid he, "I have a "mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not "ſee an innocent woman abuſed." He immediately ordered Oates to be ſtrictly confined, ſeized his papers, and diſmiſſed his ſervants; and this daring informer was obliged to make applications to parliament, in order to recover his liberty.

During this agitation of men's minds, the parliament paſſed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia ſhould be kept in arms, during ſix weeks of the year; but Charles refuſed his aſſent to the bill, and plainly declared, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part ſo far with the power of the ſword. The commons were ſo diſſatisfied with this negative, though the king had never before employed that prerogative, that they immediately voted that all the new-levied forces ſhould be diſbanded. They paſſed a bill, granting money for that purpoſe; but to ſhew their extreme jealouſy of the crown, beſides appropriating the money by the ſtricteſt clauſes, they ordered it to be paid not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The lords demurred with regard to ſo extraordinary a clauſe, which threw a violent reflection on the king's

king's miniſters, and even on himſelf; and by that means the act remained in ſuſpenſe.

The conduct of Montague, who had been ambaſſador at Paris, increaſed the ferment. He preſented to the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, a letter from the treaſurer Danby, which amon g other particulars, alluding to the negociations at Nimeguen, contained theſe words: "In caſe the "conditions of peace ſhall be accepted, the king "expects to have ſix millions of livres a-year for "three years, from the time that this agreement "ſhall be ſigned between his majeſty and the king "of France; becauſe it will probably be two or three "years before the parliament will be in humour to "give him any ſupplies after the making of any "peace with France; and the ambaſſador here has "always agreed to that ſum; but not for ſo long a "time." Danby was ſo unwilling to engage in this negociation, that the king, to ſatisfy him, ſubjoined with his own hand theſe words: "This letter is writ "by my order, C. R." Montague, who revealed this ſecret correſpondence, had even the baſeneſs to ſell his baſe treachery at a high price to the French monarch.

The commons inflamed by this intelligence, immediately voted an impeachment againſt Danby, but the charge was ſo irregular that the peers refuſed to commit him. Hence aroſe a quarrel between the two houſes; which the king availed himſelf of, firſt, to prorogue, and then to diſſolve, a parliament, whoſe fury began already to point againſt the royal family, if not, againſt the throne itſelf.

Even the courts of judicature, where the trials againſt the pretended criminals were carried on, were ſtrongly infected with party-rage. Againſt Coleman, who was firſt brought to the bar, Oates and Bedloe depoſed, that he had conſented to the poiſoning, ſhooting, and ſtabbing of the king; he had even, according to Oates's depoſition, advanced a guinea to promote thoſe bloody purpoſes. Theſe wild ſtories were confounded with the projects contained in

his letters; and Coleman received ſentence of death. The ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him. He ſuffered with calmneſs and conſtancy, and to the laſt perſiſted in the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his innocence.

Coleman's execution was ſucceeded by the trials of father Ireland, Grove, and Pickering. The only witneſſes againſt the priſoners were ſtill Oates and Bedloe; but before the arraignment they were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and ſpectators. Their defence was ſtrong; but neither that, nor the ſteadineſs with which they proteſted their innocence at the place of execution, could move the minds of the people.

Amidſt all their diſcontents the want of money obliged Charles to ſummons a new parliament; he ſoon learnt, however, that the new repreſentatives would, if poſſible, exceed the old in their refractory oppoſition to the court. He was alarmed at the approaching tempeſt; and began to exert himſelf with that vigour of mind, of which on occaſions he was not totally deſtitute. To appeaſe his people and parliament, he deſired the duke of York to withdraw beyond ſea, that no farther ſuſpicion might remain of the influence of popiſh counſels. The duke readily complied; but firſt required an order for that purpoſe, ſigned by the king, leſt his abſenting himſelf ſhould be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He alſo deſired, that his brother ſhould ſatisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. A. D. 1679.

James duke of Monmouth was the king's natural ſon by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the reſtoration. He poſſeſſed all the qualities which could engage the affections of the populace; a diſtinguiſhed valour, an affable addreſs, a thoughtleſs generoſity, a graceful perſon. He roſe ſtill higher in the public favour, by reaſon of the univerſal hatred to which the duke, on account of his religion,

religion, was expoſed. Monmouth's capacity was mean; his temper pliant: ſo that, notwithſtanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly reſigned himſelf to the guidance of Shafteſbury, a man of ſuch a reſtleſs temper, ſuch ſubtle wit, and ſuch abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. The ſtory of a contract of marriage, paſſed between the king and Monmouth's mother, and ſecretly kept in a certain *black box*, had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude. As the horrors of popery ſtill preſſed harder on them, they might be induced, either to adopt that fiction, as they had already done many others more incredible, or to commit open violation on the right of ſucceſſion. And it would not be difficult, it was hoped, to perſuade the king, who was extremely fond of his ſon, to give him the preference above a brother, who, by his imprudent bigotry, had involved him in ſuch inextricable difficulties. But Charles, in order to cut off all ſuch expectations, as well as to remove the duke's apprehenſions, took care, in full council, to make a declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, and to deny all promiſe of marriage with his mother. The duke, being gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, willingly complied with the king's deſire, and retired to Bruſſels.

The king found, even, this precaution had not obtained him the confidence of his parliament, it had ever been cuſtomary for the commons in the choice of a ſpeaker to conſult the inclinations of their ſovereign. The king now deſired that the choice ſhould fall on ſir Thomas Meres: but Seymour, ſpeaker to the laſt parliament, was inſtantly called to the chair, by a vote which ſeemed unanimous. The king, when Seymour was preſented no him for his approbation, rejected him, and ordered the commons to proceed to a new choice. A great flame was excited. The commons maintained, that the king's

king's approbation was merely a matter of form, and that he could not, without giving a reaſon, reject the ſpeaker choſen: the king urged, that, ſince he had the power of rejecting, he might, if he pleaſed, keep the reaſon in his own breaſt. As the queſtion had never before been ſtarted, it might ſeem difficult to find principles, upon which it could be decided. By the way of compromiſe, it was agreed to ſet aſide both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer, was choſen; and the election was ratified by the king. It has ever ſince been underſtood, that the choice of the ſpeaker lies in the houſe; but that the king retains the power of rejecting any perſon diſagreeable to him.

The impeachment of Danby was revived; the king had granted that miniſter a pardon, and in order to ſcreen the chancellor from all danger, he had taken the great ſeal into his own hands, and had himſelf affixed it to the parchment. He offered, however, to deprive him of all his employments, and to baniſh him from court. But the commons were nowiſe ſatisfied with this conceſſion. They pretended that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment; and the peers in compliance with their pretenſions, ordered Danby to be arreſted; who was ſoon after committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

The proſecution and farther diſcovery of the popiſh plot was ſtill the object of general concern. Notwithſtanding the abſurdities which accompanied it, both houſes concurred in a vote, that the papiſts had undoubtedly entered into a horrid and treaſonable conſpiracy againſt the king, the ſtate, and the proteſtant religion. The univerſal diſcontent drew from his retreat ſir William Temple; though he declined the office of ſecretary of ſtate, which Charles preſſed on him, he gave his ſovereign the moſt ſalutary and judicious advice; and, at his ſuggeſtion, the king formed a new privy council, which conſiſted of thirty members. Fifteen of theſe were to be the chief officers of the crown, who it was ſuppoſed,

in caſe of any extremity, would adhere to the king. The other fifteen were to be men of character detached from the court. And the king in filling up the names of his new council, was well pleaſed to find that the members, in land and offices, poſſeſſed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a year; a ſum nearly equal to the whole property of the houſe of commons, againſt whoſe violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne.

This experiment was tried, and ſeemed at firſt to give ſome ſatisfaction to the public. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of the popular party, ſon of that lord Capel who had been beheaded a little after the late king, was created treaſurer in the room of Danby: the earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made ſecretary of ſtate: viſcount Haliſax, a fine genius, poſſeſſed of learning, eloquence, induſtry, but ſubject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. Theſe three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himſelf more detached from public buſineſs, formed a kind of cabiner council, from which all affairs received their firſt digeſtion. Shaftſbury was made preſident of the council; contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the conſequence of admitting a man of ſo dangerous a character into any part of the public adminiſtration.

As Temple foreſaw it happened: Shaftſbury finding he poſſeſſed only the appearance of court-favour, reſolved to adhere to the popular party. It was at his inſtigation that the commons proceeded ſo far as to vote unanimouſly, "That the duke of York's "being a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming to "the crown, had given the higheſt countenance to "the preſent conſpiracies, and deſigns of the papiſts "againſt the king and the proteſtant religion." It was expected that a bill for excluding him the throne would ſoon be brought in. To prevent this bold meaſure, the king concerted ſome limitations, which he propoſed to the parliament. He introduced his

plan by the following gracious expreſſions: "And "to ſhew you that, while you are doing your parts, "my thoughts have not been miſemployed, but "that it is my conſtant care to do every thing that "may preſerve your religion, and ſecure it for the "future in all events, I have commanded my lord "chancellor to mention ſeveral particulars; which, "I hope, will be an evidence that, in all things "which concern the public ſecurity, I ſhall not fol-"low your zeal, but lead it."

The limitations deprived the ſucceſſor, if a papiſt, of the chief branches of royalty. He forfeited the right of conferring any eccleſiaſtical preferments: no member of the privy council, no judge of the common law or in chancery, was to be put in or diſplaced but by conſent of parliament: and the ſame precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties, and to all officers of the navy.

Theſe limitations when laid before the council, were oppoſed both by Shaftſbury and Temple; the former thought the reſtraints inſufficient, and that nothing but the total excluſion of the duke could give ſecurity to the kingdom; the latter urged that the conditions were ſo rigorous as to ſubvert the conſtitution. It was by the cabal of Shafteſbury that the commons were influenced. They rejected the conceſions propoſed; and a bill was brought in for the total excluſion of the duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared, that the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms, upon the king's death or reſignation, ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion after the duke; that all acts of royalty which that prince ſhould afterwards perform, ſhould not only be void, but be deemed treaſon; that if he ſo much as entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be deemed guilty of the ſame offence; and that all who ſupported his title ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied

baniſhment as well as excluſion, paſſed the lower houſe by a majority of ſeventy-nine.

The houſe was not ſo occupied by the excluſion bill as to overlook other articles; the ſtanding army and the king's guards were by the commons voted to be illegal: a new pretenſion, it muſt be confeſſed, but neceſſary for the full ſecurity of liberty and a limited conſtitution.

The parliament alſo provided againſt arbitrary impriſonment, by the act of *habeas corpus*, which paſſed this ſeſſion. By this act it was prohibited to ſend any one to a priſon beyond ſea. No judge, under ſevere penalties, muſt refuſe to any priſoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the body of the priſoner (whence the writ has its name), and to certify the cauſe of his detainer and impriſonment. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ muſt be obeyed in three days; and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances: every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the ſame offence.

During theſe zealous efforts for liberty, no complaiſance for the crown was diſcovered. It was to the diſtreſſes of the king that the commons chiefly truſted for paſſing the excluſion bill. The impeachment of the five popiſh laws, with that of the earl of Danby, was alſo carried on with vigour. The king employed his whole intereſt to ſupport the validity of the pardon which he had granted to that miniſter. The lords appointed a day for the examination of the queſtion, and agreed to hear counſel on both ſides: but the commons would not ſubmit their pretenſions to the diſcuſſion of argument and inquiry. They voted, that whoever ſhould preſume, without their leave, to maintain before the houſe of peers the validity of Danby's pardon, ſhould be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the Engliſh commons.

And

And they made a demand, that the biſhops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court, ſhould be removed, not only when the trial of the earl ſhould commence, but alſo when the validity of his pardon ſhould be diſcuſſed.

By the conſtitutions of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Edward II. the biſhops were obliged to give their preſence in parliament; but as the canon law prohibited them from aſſiſting in capital trials, they were allowed in ſuch caſes the privilege of abſenting themſelves. This practice afterwards became a rule; but here the commons ſtarted a new queſtion; and inſiſted that the biſhops had no more right to vote in the debate on the earl's pardon, than in the impeachment itſelf. The houſe of lords, however, determined that the biſhops ſhould be admitted to vote when the validity of the pardon was examined; and as the commons ſtill inſiſted on their withdrawing, the king ſeized this favourable pretence to diſſolve the parliament, at the moment when the lower houſe had prepared a remonſtrance, ſtill farther to inflame the nation on the favourite topics of the plot, and popery.

This vigorous meaſure diſappointed all the projects of the malcontents, but even the receſs of parliament afforded no interruption to the proſecution of the catholics accuſed of the plot. Dugdale, a new evidence, who though poor, was of a fairer character, than Oates and Bedloe, was brought forward. But his account of the intended maſſacres and aſſaſſinations were equally monſtrous and incredible. On his, and the incoherent teſtimony of Oates and Bedloe, Whitebread, provincial of the Jeſuits, Fenwic, Gavan, Turner, and the Harcourts, were all brought to trial, condemned, and executed. Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom the concerns of all the Jeſuits, were managed, was the next victim; and it was not until the trial of ſir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, whom they accuſed of an intention to poiſon the king, that the informers received

a check. It was a ſtrong circumſtance in favour of Wakeman, that Oates, in his firſt information before the council, had accuſed him only upon hearſay; and when aſked by the chancellor, whether he had any thing farther to charge him with? he added, "God forbid I ſhould ſay any thing againſt ſir "George: for I know nothing more againſt him." On the trial he gave poſitive evidence of the priſoner's guilt. There were many other circumſtances which favoured Wakeman: but what chiefly contributed to his acquittal, was the connexion of his cauſe with that of the queen, whom no one, even during the higheſt prejudices of the times, could ſincerely believe guilty. The great importance of the trial made men recollect themſelves, and recal that good ſenſe and humanity which ſeemed, during ſome time, to have abandoned the nation. The chief juſtice himſelf, who had hitherto favoured the witneſſes, exaggerated the plot, and railed againſt the priſoners, was obſerved to be conſiderably mollified, and to give a favourable charge to the jury. Oates and Bedloe had the aſſurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuſe him of partiality before the council. The whole party, who had formerly much extolled his conduct, now made him the object of their reſentment. Wakeman's acquittal was indeed a ſenſible mortification to the furious proſecutors of the plot, and fixed an indelible ſtain upon the witneſſes. But Wakeman, after he recovered his liberty, finding himſelf expoſed to ſuch inveterate enmity, and being threatened with farther proſecutions, thought it prudent to retire beyond ſea: and his flight was interpreted as a proof of guilt, by thoſe who were ſtill reſolved to perſiſt in the belief of the conſpi acy.

The great diſcontents in England were communicated to Scotland; and an incident there rouzed from their inactivity the Scottiſh covenanters. A company of the latter had way-laid, with an intention to kill, Carmichael an officer of the archbiſhop, who

who had rendered himſelf obnoxious by his ſeverity. While looking out for their prey, they were ſurpriſed at ſeeing the archbiſhop's coach paſs by; and they immediately interpreted this incident as a declaration of the ſecret purpoſe of Providence againſt him. But when they obſerved that almoſt all his ſervants, by ſome accident, were abſent, they no longer doubted, but Heaven had here delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they fell upon him; dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interpoſed with cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the ſpot, and immediately diſperſed themſelves.

This atrocious action was imputed to the fanatics without diſtinction; a more violent perſecution was commenced againſt them; and inflamed by oppreſſion they met to celebrate their worſhip with arms in their hands. At one of their conventicles, they repulſed the attack of captain Graham, afterwards viſcount Dundee, an active and enterpriſing officer. The covenanters finding that they were unwarily involved in ſuch deep guilt, were engaged to perſevere, and to ſeek, from their valour and fortune alone, for that indemnity, which the ſeverity of the government left them no hopes of ever being able otherwiſe to obtain. They puſhed on to Glaſgow; and though at firſt repulſed, they afterwards made themſelves maſters of that city; diſpoſſeſſed the eſtabliſhed clergy; and iſſued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought againſt the king's ſupremacy, againſt popery and prelacy, and againſt a popiſh ſucceſſor.

The king apprehenſive of the conſequences of this inſurrection, diſpatched Monmouth into Scotland with a ſmall body of Engliſh cavalry. That nobleman joined to theſe troops the Scottiſh guards, and ſome regiments of militia, and marched with celerity againſt the enemy. They had taken poſt near Bothwell caſtle, between Hamilton and Glaſgow.

Their numbers never exceeded 8000; and they were without officers, experience or judgment. They were eaſily routed; about 700 fell in the purſuit; and about twelve hundred were made priſoners; theſe were treated by Monmouth, who had married a Scottiſh lady, and who was deſirous of popularity, with great humanity. But Lauderdale, though his influence was declining with Charles, ſtill retained ſufficient, to take care that the act of indemnity which ſoon after paſſed, ſhould be worded in ſuch a manner, as rather to afford protection to himſelf and his aſſociates, than to the unhappy covenanters.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

CHARLES II.

State of Parties.—Mealtub Plot.—Whig and Tory.—New Parliament.—Exclusion Bill.—Trial of Stafford—his Execution.—Violence of the Commons.—a Dissolution of the Parliament.—New Parliament at Oxford.—Fitzharris's Case.—Parliament dissolved.—Victory of the Royalists.—Shaftesbury acquitted.—Argyle's Trial.—New Warrants.—Great Power of the Crown.—Conspiracy.—Shaftsbury's Death.—Conspiracy Discovered.—Execution of the Conspirators.—Trial of Lord Russel—his Execution.—Trial of Algernon Sidney.—State of the Nation.—Foreign Affairs.—King's Sickness, Death, and Character.

THE king observing that the whole nation concurred in the prosecution of the popish plot, had found it necessary for his own safety to give loose to the torrent; but when a little time had moderated the general fury, he was enabled to form a considerable party determined to oppose the pretensions of the malcontents. The ancient royalists, and established clergy, were easily induced to concur in his support; and many who were indifferent to political principles, were gained by the amiable manners and address of Charles; the affection that was borne to him, was signally evinced by his falling sick at Windsor; a general consternation seized all ranks; and, to use an expression of sir William Temple's, the king's death was regarded as the end of the world. The duke of York had been secretly sent for, but when he A. D. 1679.

arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and it was agreed to conceal the invitation which he had received. His journey, however, was attended with important conſequences. He prevailed on the king to diſgrace Monmouth, whoſe projects were now known and avowed; to deprive him of his command in the army; and to ſend him beyond ſea. He himſelf returned to Bruſſels; but made a ſhort ſtay in that place. He obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretence ſtill of quieting the apprehenſions of the Engliſh nation; but in reality with a view of ſecuring that kingdom in his intereſts.

Though Eſſex and Halifax had concurred in the reſolution of inviting over the duke, they ſoon found, that they had not obtained his confidence, and that even the king, while he made uſe of their ſervice, had no ſincere regard for their perſons. Eſſex in diſguſt reſigned the treaſury: Halifax retired to his country-ſeat: Temple, deſpairing of any accommodation among ſuch enraged parties, withdrew almoſt entirely to his books and his gardens. The king, who changed miniſters as well as meaſures with great indifference, beſtowed at this time the chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. Hyde ſucceeded Eſſex in the treaſury.

The king was conſcious that the elections had gone moſtly in favour of the country party, and he determined to prorogue the new parliament; in this meaſure he did not expect the concurrence of thoſe popular leaders whom he had admitted into his council. Many of them, Lord Ruſſel in particular, threw up. Shafteſbury alſo was about this time removed from the office of preſident of the council, and ſucceeded by the earl of Radnor, a man who poſſeſſed whimſical talents, and ſplenetic virtues.

From the encouragement given to plots, the nation had got into a vein of credulity; and one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, tranſported, whipped, pilloried, was the author of a new incident, called the *meal-tub plot*, from

from the place where ſome papers, relative to it, were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material to diſcover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the preſbyterians, had been countenanced by ſome catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's preſence and the king's: and that, under pretence of revealing new popiſh plots, he had obtained acceſs to Shafteſbury and ſome of the popular leaders. Which ſide he intended to cheat, is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: but he ſoon found that the belief of the nation was more open to a popiſh than a preſbyterian plot; and he reſolved to ſtrike in with the prevailing humour.

The preſence of the duke of Monmouth, who came over without leave A. D. 1680. ſerved to renew the fermentation. The crown was attacked by tumultuous petitions; the king found himſelf obliged to encounter theſe by applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addreſſes were framed, containing expreſſions of the higheſt regard to his majeſty, the moſt entire acquieſcence in his wiſdom, the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſion to his prerogative, and the deepeſt *abhorrence* of thoſe who endeavoured to encroach upon it, by preſcribing to him any time for aſſembling the parliament. Thus the nation came to be diſtinguiſhed into *petitioners* and *abhorrers*. Factions indeed were at this time extremely animated againſt each other. The very names by which each party denominated its antagoniſt, diſcover the virulence and rancour which prevailed. For beſides petitioner and abhorrer, appellations which were ſoon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and ſometimes without any material difference, this iſland has been ſo long divided. The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland,

Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs; the country party found a reſemblance between the courtiers and the popiſh banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed. And after this manner, theſe fooliſh terms of reproach came into public and general uſe; and even at preſent ſeem not nearer their end than when they were firſt invented.

To reconcile his people to his government, the king affected great zeal againſt popery. This artifice did not wholely ſucceed.

It was of great conſequence to the popular party, while the meeting of parliament depended on the king's will, to keep the law, whoſe operations are perpetual, entirely on their ſide. The ſheriffs of London by their office return the juries: it had been uſual for the mayor to nominate one ſheriff by drinking to him; and the common-hall had ever without diſpute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, appointed one who was not acceptable to the popular party: the common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Corniſh, two independents, and republicans, and of conſequence deeply engaged with the malcontents, were choſen by a majority of voices. In ſpite of all remonſtrances and oppoſition, the citizens perſiſted in their choice; and the court party was obliged for the preſent to acquieſce.

Juries however were not ſo partial in the city, but that reaſon and juſtice, even when the popiſh plot was in queſtion, could ſometimes prevail. The earl of Caſtlemaine, huſband to the ducheſs of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time, though accuſed by Oates and Dangerfield of an intention to aſſaſſinate the king. Sir Thomas Gaſcoigne, a very aged gentleman in the north, being accuſed by two ſervants, whom he had diſmiſſed for diſhoneſty, received a like verdict. Theſe trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to ſtagger, in the judgment of moſt men, except thoſe who

who were entirely devoted to the country party. But in order ſtill to keep alive the zeal againſt popery, the earl of Shafteſbury appeared in Weſtminſter-hall, attended by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Ruſſel, Cavendiſh, Gray, Brandon, ſir Henry Caverley, ſir Gilbert Gerrard, ſir William Cooper, and other perſons of diſtinction, and preſented to the grand jury of Middleſex reaſons for indicting the duke of York as a popiſh recuſant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary preſentment, the chief-juſtice ſent for them, and ſuddenly, even ſomewhat irregularly, diſmiſſed them. Shafteſbury however obtained the end for which he had undertaken this bold meaſure: he ſhowed to all his followers the deſperate reſolution which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation or compoſition with the duke. By ſuch daring conduct he gave them aſſurance, that he was fully determined not to deſert their cauſe; and he engaged them to a like devoted perſeverance in all the meaſures which he could ſuggeſt to them.

After a long interval, the king reſolved to aſſemble the parliament. In his ſpeech, after recommending to them the neceſſity of providing for the ſafety of Tangiers, he ſtrongly urge the advantages of unanimity; and ended by the aſſurance, that if any diſputes aroſe, the world ſhould ſay that the fault was not his: all theſe mollifying expreſſions had no influence on the commons, they voted that it was the undoubted right of the ſubject to petition the king for the calling of parliament. They fell with the utmoſt violence on the abhorrers; they expelled ſir Thomas Whithers, one of their members, who had been guilty of this offence; but their chief violence appeared in all their tranſactions that regarded the plot; they lamented the death of Bedloe, who had expired of a fever, confirming in his laſt moment all his former evidence; on this circumſtance the popular party laid great ſtreſs; to turn aſide the ſucceſſion of the duke of York was their great

great object; and Monmouth's friends hoped that the excluſion of that prince would make way for their patron; but Charles was determined to preſerve the right of ſucceſſion inviolable; he even reſiſted the allurements of the ducheſs of Portſmouth, who had been engaged in the views of the popular party; and the leaders of that party finding they had no longer hopes of the royal concurrence, in leſs than a week after the commencement of the ſeſſion, made a motion for bringing in the excluſion bill. This bill differed in nothing from the former, but in two articles, which ſhowed ſtill an increaſe of zeal in the commons: the bill was to be read to the people twice a-year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one who ſhould ſupport the duke's title was rendered incapable of receiving a pardon but by an act of parliament.

The debates were carried on with great violence on both ſides. The bill was defended by ſir William Jones, who had now reſigned his office of attorney-general, by lord Ruſſel, by ſir Francis Winnington, ſir Harry Capel, ſir William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, Montague. It was oppoſed by ſir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate, ſir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde, Seymour, and Temple.

In the houſe of commons the bill paſſed by a great majority. It was in the houſe of peers that the king expected to oppoſe it with ſucceſs. The court party there was ſo prevalent, that it was carried only by a majority of two to pay ſo much regard to the bill as even to commit it. When it came to be debated, the conteſt was violent. Shafteſbury, Sunderland, and Eſſex, argued for it; Halifax chiefly conducted the debate againſt it, and diſplayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, which had never been ſurpaſſed in that aſſembly. He was animated, as well by the greatneſs of the occaſion, as by a rivalſhip with his uncle Shafteſbury; whom, during that day's debate, he ſeemed, in the judgment

judgment of all, to have totally eclipſed. The king was preſent during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night. The bill was thrown out by a conſiderable majority. All the biſhops, except three, voted againſt it. Beſides the influence of the court over them; the church of England, they imagined or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of preſbyterianiſm than of popery, which, though favoured by the duke, and even by the king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation.

The commons diſcovered much ill-humour at this diſappointment. They immediately reſumed the proſecution of the popiſh plot. The impeachment of the catholic lords in the tower was revived. It was determined to make viſcount Stafford, who, from his age and infirmities, was the leaſt capable of defending himſelf, the firſt victim; the witneſſes againſt him were, Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville; and their teſtimony the moſt contradictory; but the clamours and outrage of the populace were extreme; and to theſe it may be imputed, that to the ſurpriſe of every one, the peers, after a ſolemn trial of ſix days, by a majority of 24 voices, gave ſentence againſt him; he received the verdict with reſignation; and in his laſt moments proteſted, that the only treaſon of which he had ever been guilty, had been entering into ſchemes for procuring a mitigation of the penal laws enacted againſt the catholics; he died with firmneſs; and the populace who had exulted at his trial and condemnation, were melted into tears at the tender fortitude which he diſplayed upon the ſcaffold.

This was the laſt blood that was ſhed on account of the popiſh plot. The execution of Stafford, was far from contributing to the power of the country party. The commons had paſſed a bill for eaſing the proteſtant diſſenters, and for repealing the perſecuting ſtatute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: this laudable bill was likewiſe carried through the houſe

of

of peers. The chief-juſtice was very obnoxious for diſmiſſing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby diſappointing that bold meaſure of Shafteſbury and his friends, who had preſented the duke as a reſcuant. For this crime the commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him; as alſo againſt Jones and Weſton, two of the judges, who, in ſome ſpeeches from the bench, had gone ſo far as to give to many of the firſt reformers the appellation of fanatics.

A. D. 1681. In the hope that the king's neceſſities would ſoon throw him into their hands, they ſtill continued to inſiſt on the excluſion bill; they voted thoſe who had adviſed his majeſty to reject it, promoters of popery, and enemies of the kingdom; and that they could not conſiſtent with their truſt grant the king any ſupply until it was paſſed. Charles, convinced that there was a probability of bringing the commons to better temper, determined to prorogue them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to their door. Not to loſe ſuch precious time, they paſſed in a tumultuous manner ſome extraordinary reſolutions. They voted, *that* whoſoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue this parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to paſs the bill of excluſion, was a betrayer of the king, of the proteſtant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France: *that* thanks be given to the city of London for their manifeſt loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preſervation of the king and of the proteſtant religion: *that* it is the opinion of this houſe, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the papiſts, deſigning thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: *that* humble application be made to his majeſty for reſtoring the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the houſe, he had been removed by the influence of the duke of York: and

that

that it is the opinion of the houſe that the proſecution of the proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the ſubject, a weakening of the proteſtant intereſt, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

The king paſſed ſome laws of no great importance: but the bill for repealing the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the crown not to preſent him. By this artifice, which was equally diſobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the ſame time implied ſome timidity in the king, that ſalutary act was for the preſent eluded. The king had often of himſelf attempted, and ſometimes, by irregular means, to give indulgence to non-conformiſts: but, beſides that, he had uſually expected to comprehend the catholics in this liberty, the preſent refractory diſpoſition of the ſectaries had much incenſed him againſt them; and he was reſolved, if poſſible, to keep them ſtill at mercy.

Soon after the king had diſſolved the parliament, he ſummoned a new one; and to avoid thoſe tumults that, then aſſembling at Weſtminſter, expoſed them to, he directed them to meet at Oxford. Againſt this Monmouth and fifteen peers proteſted; as the houſes could not there, they ſaid, be in ſafety from the papiſts and their adherents. Theſe inſinuations, which pointed at the king, were calculated to inflame the people. Such was their effect, that the aſſembly at Oxford, rather bore the appearance of a Poliſh diet than of an Engliſh parliament; and the popular leaders came not only attended by their ſervants, but by numerous bands of their partizans.

The commons conſiſted almoſt entirely of the ſame members as before; and fell inſtantly into the ſame meaſures; the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the perſecuting ſtatute of Elizabeth, the inquiry into the popiſh plot, and the bill of excluſion. So violent were they on this laſt article, that no other expedient, however plauſible, could ſo much as be

hearkened to. Ernley, one of the king's miniſters, propoſed that the duke ſhould be baniſhed, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that on the king's demiſe the next heir ſhould be conſtituted regent with regal power. Yet, even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not, though ſeconded by ſir Thomas Lyttleton and ſir Thomas Mompeſſon, obtain the attention of the houſe. The paſt diſappointments of the country party, and the oppoſition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No method but their own, of excluding the duke, could give them any ſatisfaction.

One Fitzharris, a common ſpy, and who was in dread of a proſecution for a libel, that he had ſketched againſt the court, to procure himſelf the protection of the country party, reſumed a diſcovery of the great popiſh plot; and he failed not to confirm all the tremendous circumſtances inſiſted on by his predeceſſors. He ſaid, that the ſecond Dutch war was entered into with a view of extirpating the proteſtant religion, both abroad and at home; that father Parry, a Jeſuit, on the diſappointment by the peace, told him, that the catholics reſolved to murder the king, and had even engaged the queen in that deſign; that the envoy of Modena offered him 10,000 pounds to kill the king, and, upon his refuſal the envoy ſaid, that the ducheſs of Mazarine, who was as expert at poiſoning as her ſiſter, the counteſs of Soiſſons, would, with a little phial, execute that deſign; that, upon the king's death, the army in Flanders was to come over, and maſſacre the proteſtants; that money was raiſed in Italy for recruits and ſupplies; that there ſhould be no more parliaments; and that the duke was privy to this whole plan, and had even entered into the deſign of Godfrey's murder, which was executed in the manner related by Prance.

The popular leaders, who had all along been deſirous of an accuſation againſt the duke, were not aſhamed

aſhamed to adopt the evidence of Fitzharris, but ſtill their deſigns were broken by their own violence; and the king again determined to proceed to a diſſolution of the parliament. The ſecret was ſo well kept, that the commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their doors, and ſummoned them to attend the king at the houſe of peers.

This vigorous meaſure, though it might have been foreſeen, excited ſuch aſtoniſhment in the country party, as deprived them of all ſpirit, and reduced them to abſolute deſpair. They were ſenſible, though too late, that the king had finally taken his reſolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than ſubmit to thoſe terms which they had reſolved to impoſe upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs ſhould come to full maturity; and, having now engaged a national party on his ſide, had boldly ſet his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be ſummoned for ſome years; and during that long interval, the court, though perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet, being poſſeſſed of all authority, would have every advantage over a body diſperſed and diſunited. Theſe reflections crouded upon every one; and all the excluſioniſts were terrified leſt Charles, ſhould follow the blow by ſome action more violent, and immediately take vengeance on them for their long and obſtinate oppoſition to his meaſures. The king on his part, was no leſs apprehenſive, leſt deſpair might prompt them to have recourſe to force, and make ſome ſudden attempt upon his perſon. Both parties therefore hurried from Oxford; and in an inſtant, that city, ſo crouded and buſy, was left in its uſual emptineſs and tranquillity.

The court party gathered force from the aſtoniſhment of their antagoniſts, and Charles reſolved not to truſt the people, for ſome time, in a new election, prepared to depend on his economy; and made great retrenchments in his houſehold. To ſtrike the excluſioniſts with terror, he ordered the im-

mediate trial of Fitzharris. He was brought in guilty of treaſon, and, before his execution, retracted all his former impoſtures. The next perſon on whom the miniſters fell, was one College, a joiner, noted for his zeal againſt popery, and much connected with Shafteſbury. College had been in Oxford armed with ſword and piſtol during the ſitting of the parliament; and this was made the foundation of his crime. It was pretended that a conſpiracy had been entered into to ſeize the king's perſon, and detain him in confinement, till he ſhould make the conceſſions demanded of him. The ſheriffs of London were in ſtrong oppoſition to the court; and it was not ſtrange, that the grand jury named by them rejected the bill againſt College. The priſoner was therefore ſent to Oxford, where the treaſon was ſaid to have been committed. A jury was named conſiſting entirely of royaliſts; the witneſſes who were produced againſt him were Dugdale, Turberville, &c. men who had before given evidence againſt the catholics; and whom the jury for that very reaſon regarded as the moſt perjured villains. Yet ſuch was the rage of party, that, on this infamous teſtimony a verdict was brought in againſt him. He appeared no wiſe diſmayed; and, at execution, he maintained his fortitude, and denied the crime imputed to him.

During this agitation of parties, Ireland was maintained in tranquillity, by the wiſdom and moderation of the duke of Ormond, who in 1677 had been reſtored to the ſtation of lord lieutenant; but England and Scotland were ſtill ſhaken by the tempeſt of faction. The tools that had been employed by Shafteſbury had turned againſt him; and he was accuſed by Turberville and others of high treaſon. He was committed to priſon, and an indictment againſt him preſented to the grand jury. The draught of an aſſociation againſt popery and the duke, was found in his cabinet; and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauſes of that paper. But

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it did not appear, that it had been framed by Shaftesbury, or so much as approved by him. And, as projects of an association had been proposed in parliament, it was very natural for this nobleman, or his correspondents, to be thinking of some plan, which it might be proper to lay before that assembly. The grand jury, therefore, after weighing all these circumstances, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, testified their joy by the loudest acclamations, which were echoed throughout the whole city.

In Scotland, a nobleman far less obnoxious was the victim to oppression. The earl of Argyle from his youth had distinguished himself by his loyalty. The king, sensible of his services, had remitted to him his father's forfeiture, and created him earl of Argyle; and, when a most unjust sentence was passed upon him by the Scottish parliament, Charles had a new remitted it. Argyle, though not disposed to go all lengths with the court, had always, even in his opposition, appeared of a peaceable deportment. In accepting a test, which asserted the king's supremacy, and which had been proposed by the duke of York, then commissioner, he had subjoined, "*as far as is "consistent with itself, and the protestant religion.*" The duke heard these words, as was natural, with great tranquillity; and Argyle was much surprised, a few days after, to find that a warrant was issued for committing him to prison; that he was indicted for high-treason, leasing-making, and perjury; and that from these innocent words an accusation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit honours, life, and fortune. It is needless to enter into particulars, where the iniquity of the whole is apparent. Though the sword of justice was displayed, even her semblance was not put on; and the forms alone of law were preserved, in order to sanctify, or rather aggravate, the oppression. Of five judges, three did not scruple to find the guilt of treason and leasing-making to be incurred by the prisoner: a jury of

fifteen noblemen gave verdict againſt him: and the king, being conſulted, ordered the ſentence to be pronounced; but the execution of it to be ſuſpended till farther orders.

It was pretended by the duke and his creatures, that Argyle's life and fortune were not in any danger, and that the ſole reaſon for puſhing the trial to ſuch extremities againſt him was in order to make him renounce ſome hereditary juriſdiction, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the highlands, and obſtructed the courſe of public juſtice. But allowing the end to be juſtifiable, the means were infamous; and ſuch as were incompatible, not only with a free, but a civilized government. Argyle had therefore no reaſon to truſt any longer to the juſtice or mercy of ſuch enemies: he made his eſcape from priſon; and, till he ſhould find a ſhip for Holland, he concealed himſelf during ſome time in London. The king heard of his lurking-place, but would not allow him to be arreſted. All the parts, however, of his ſentence, as far as the government in Scotland had power, were rigorouſly executed; his eſtate confiſcated, his arms reverſed and torn.

A. D. 1682. As the king was maſter in England, and no longer dreaded the clamours of the country-party, he permitted the duke to pay him a viſit; and was ſoon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part in the adminiſtration. The duke went to Scotland, in order to bring up his family, and ſettle the government of that country; and he choſe to take his paſſage by ſea. The ſhip ſtruck on a ſand-bank, and was loſt: the duke eſcaped in the barge; and it is pretended that, while many perſons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the reſt Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to ſave ſeveral of his dogs and prieſts: for theſe two ſpecies of favourites are coupled together by ſome writers.

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Though the duke, during his abode in Scotland, had treated the nobility and gentry with great civility, he had conducted himſelf with the utmoſt rigour, not to ſay cruelty towards the enthuſiaſts; and, on his return to England, the government of that country, felt the influence of his ſeverity. His credit was great at court. Though neither ſo much beloved nor eſteemed as the king, he was more dreaded; and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a ſubmiſſion more obſequious, was paid to him. The ſaying of Waller was remarked, that Charles, in ſpite to the parliament, who had determined that the duke ſhould not ſucceed him, was reſolved that he ſhould reign even in his life time.

The laws againſt conventicles were now ſtrictly executed; and the king's authority made every day great advances. It even preponderated in the city; and, by an unwarrantable ſtretch of power, two ſheriffs were choſen, North and Rich, who were devoted to the court. But, as the conteſt might be renewed every year, an important project was formed to make the king not only maſter of the city, but of all the corporations in England. A writ of *quo warranto* was iſſued againſt the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of its charter. It was pretended, that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought to be declared no longer a corporation, on account of two offences which the court of aldermen and common council had committed. After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been fitted up with many conveniences; and, in order to defray the expence, the magiſtrates had impoſed a ſmall toll on goods brought to market: in the year 1679, they had addreſſed the king againſt the prorogation of parliament, and had employed the following terms; "your petitioners "are greatly ſurpriſed at the late prorogation, "whereby the proſecution of the public juſtice of "the kingdom, and the making of neceſſary pro-"viſions for the preſervation of your majeſty and

"your proteſtant ſubjects, have received interrup-
"tion." Theſe words were pretended to contain a ſcandalous reflection on the king and his meaſures. An action was commenced; and the cauſe of the city was defended againſt the attorney and ſolicitor generals, by Treby and Pollexfen.

A. D. 1683. The arguments of Treby and Pollexfen, were founded on law, and enforced by eloquence. But the office of judge was at that time held during pleaſure; and it was impoſſible that any cauſe, where the court bent its force, could ever be carried againſt it. After ſentence was pronounced the city applied in a humble manner to the king; and he agreed to reſtore their charter, but, in return, they were obliged to ſubmit to the following regulations: That no mayor, ſheriff, recorder, common ſerjeant, town clerk, or coroner, ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe of his office without his majeſty's approbation: that if the king diſapprove twice of the mayor or ſheriffs elected, he may, by commiſſion, appoint theſe magiſtrates; that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majeſty's leave, diſplace any magiſtrate: and that no alderman, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhall be elected without the conſent of the court of aldermen, who, if they diſapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

All the corporations in England, having the example of London before their eyes, ſaw how vain it would prove to contend with the court, and were, moſt of them, ſucceſſively induced to ſurrender their charters into the king's hands. Conſiderable ſums were exacted for reſtoring the charters; and all offices of power and profit were left at the diſpoſal of the crown. It ſeems ſtrange, that the independent royaliſts, who never meant to make the crown abſolute, ſhould yet be ſo elated with the victory obtained over their adverſaries, as to approve of a precedent, which left no national privileges in ſecurity, but enabled the king under like pretences, and

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by means of like inſtruments, to recall anew all thoſe charters, which at preſent he was pleaſed to grant. And every friend to liberty muſt allow, that the nation, whoſe conſtitution was thus broken in the ſhock of faction, had a right, by every prudent expedient, to recover that ſecurity of which it was ſo unhappily bereaved.

It was at this juncture that a plan of reſiſtance was at length conſulted; and the duke of Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, and lord Gray, inſtigated by the reſtleſs Shafteſbury, ſolicited not only the capital, but the gentry and nobility of ſeveral counties to riſe in in arms, and to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of the duke. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, ſir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheſhire; lord Ruſſel fixed a correſpondence with ſir William Courtney, ſir Francis Rowes, ſir Francis Drake, who promiſed to raiſe the weſt; and Trenchard in particular, who had intereſt in the diſaffected town of Taunton, aſſured him of conſiderable aſſiſtance from that neighbourhood. Shafteſbury, and his emiſſary Ferguſon, an independent clergyman, and a reſtleſs plotter, managed the correſpondence in the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. The whole train was ready to take fire; but was prevented by the caution of lord Ruſſel, who induced Monmouth to delay the enterpriſe. Shafteſbury loudly exclaimed againſt this delay. The projects were therefore renewed; meetings of the conſpirators were held at Sheppard's, an eminent wine merchant in the city. But the caution they obſerved ill-ſuited the ardent diſpoſition of Shafteſbury; who finding perpetual obſtacles to action inſiſted on, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and retired iuto Holland, where he expired ſoon after; and his end, from his precipitate temper, gave neither ſorrow to his friends, nor joy to his enemies.

After Shafteſbury's departure a regular project of a inſurrection was formed. A council of ſix was choſen, conſiſting of Monmouth, Ruſſel, Eſſex,

Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandſon of the great parliamentary leader. Theſe men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scottiſh malcontents; who engaged, that, upon the payment of 10,000 pounds for the purchaſe of arms in Holland, they would bring the covenanters into the field. Inſurrections, likewiſe, were anew projected in Cheſhire and the weſt, as well as in the city; and ſome meetings of the leaders were held, in order to reduce theſe projects into form. The conſpirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney was paſſionate for a commonwealth. Eſſex had embraced the ſame project. But Monmouth had entertained hopes of acquiring the crown for himſelf. Ruſſel, as well as Hambden, was much attached to the ancient conſtitution, and intended only the excluſion of the duke, and the redreſs of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of no principle, and was ready to embrace any party which his immediate intereſt ſhould recommend to him. But notwithſtanding this difference of characters and of views, their common hatred of the duke, and the preſent adminiſtration, united them in one party; and the dangerous experiment of an inſurrection was fully reſolved on.

While theſe ſchemes were concerted among the leaders, an inferior order of conſpirators held frequent meetings, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and the cabal of ſix. Among theſe men were colonel Rumſey, an old republican officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Portugal, and had been recommended to the king by mareſchal Schomberg; lieutenant-colonel Walcot, likewiſe a republican officer; Goodenough, underſheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man; Weſt, Tyley, Norton, Ayloffe, lawyers; Ferguſon, Rouſe, Hone, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee, Rumbald. Moſt of theſe laſt were merchants or tradeſmen; and the only perſons of this confederacy, who had acceſs to the leaders of the party, were

Rumſey

Rumſey and Ferguſon. Theſe men indulged in the moſt criminal diſcourſe. Among other plans, it was propoſed to aſſaſſinate Charles as he returned to Newmarket; but the houſe in which the king lived there took fire; he was obliged to leave that place eight days ſooner then he intended; and to this circumſtance his ſafety was afterwards aſcribed.

At length the ſecret ſo long kept was divulged. Keiling, one of the conſpirators, was under a criminal proſecution; the dread of which induced him to betray all he knew to ſecretary Jenkins, in the hopes of purchaſing pardon. A ſearch was made after the conſpirators; and Weſt, the lawyer, and colonel Rumſey, finding the perils to which they were expoſed, ſurrendered themſelves, and turned evidence. The meetings at Sheppard's were mentioned. Sheppard was immediately apprehended, and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates. Upon his information, orders were iſſued for arreſting the great men engaged in the conſpiracy. Monmouth abſconded: Ruſſel was ſent to the Tower: Gray was arreſted, but eſcaped from the meſſenger: Howard was taken, while he concealed himſelf in a chimney; and being a man of profligate morals, as well as indigent circumſtances, he ſcrupled not, in hopes of a pardon and a reward, to reveal the whole conſpiracy. Eſſex, Sidney, and Hambden, were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Every day ſome of the conſpirators were detected in their lurking-places, and thrown into priſon.

Walcot, Hone, and Rouſe were firſt brought to trial, and condemned on the evidence of Rumſey, Weſt, and Sheppard. At their execution they owned the juſtice of the ſentence; and from their trial and confeſſion, it is ſufficiently apparent, that the plan of an inſurrection had been regularly formed; and that even the aſſaſſination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conſpirators.

Their condemation was preparatory to the trial of lord Ruſſel. The witneſſes produced againſt him, were

were Rumſey, Sheppard, and lord Howard. The two former ſwore that Ruſſel was preſent when the deſign of ſurpriſing the king's guards was debated. Lord Howard, who had been one of the cabal of ſix eſtabliſhed after Shafteſbury's flight, depoſed to two meetings at Hampden's and Ruſſel's, in which an inſurrection was agreed on. He added, that though in theſe deliberations no queſtion was put or votes collected, there was no contradiction; and as he took it, all of them, and the priſoner among the reſt, gave their conſent.

Though it was undoubtedly proved, that the inſurrection had been reſolved on, the ſurpriſal of the guards deliberated on by the priſoner, ſtill, with regard to law, there remained a difficulty, and that of an important nature. The two ſpecies of treaſon defined in the ſtatute of Edward III. are the compaſſing and intending of the king's death, and the actullay levying war againſt him; and by the law of Mary, the crime muſt be proved by the concurring teſtimony of two witneſſes, to ſome overt act tending to theſe purpoſes. By an act that paſſed after the reſtoration, it was indeed declared treaſon, to conſult on a rebellion during Charles's life-time; but it was required that the proſecution ſhould be commenced within ſix months after the crime was committed. Ruſſel's crime fell within the ſtatute of Charles II. but the facts ſworn to by Rumſey and Sheppard, were beyond the ſix months required by law; and to the other facts, Howard was a ſingle witneſs.

Ruſſel perceived this irregularity, and deſired to have the point argued by counſel: the chief juſtice told him, that this favour could not be granted, unleſs he previouſly confeſſed the facts charged upon him. The artificial confounding of the two ſpecies of treaſon, though a practice ſupported by many precedents, is the chief, but not the only hardſhip, of which Ruſſel had reaſon to complain on his trial. His defence was feeble; and he contented himſelf with

with proteſting, that he never had entertained any deſign againſt the life of the king: his veracity would not allow him to deny the conſpiracy for an inſurrection. The jury were men of fair and reputable characters, but zealous royaliſts: after a ſhort deliberation, they brought in the priſoner guilty.

Applications were made to the king for a pardon: even money, to the amount of a hundred thouſand pounds, was offered to the ducheſs of Portſmouth by the old earl of Bedford, father of Ruſſel. The king was inexorable.

Ruſſel's conſort, a woman of virtue, daughter and heir of the good earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for thoſe errors, into which honeſt, however miſtaken, principles had ſeduced her huſband. Theſe ſupplications were the laſt inſtance of female weakneſs (if they deſerve the name) which ſhe betrayed. Finding all applications vain, ſhe collected courage, and not only fortified herſelf againſt the fatal blow, but endeavoured, by her example, to ſtrengthen the reſolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent compoſure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterneſs of "death is now paſt," ſaid he, when he turned from her. Lord Cavendiſh had lived in the cloſeſt intimacy with Ruſſel, and deſerted not his friend in the preſent calamity. He offered to manage his eſcape, by changing clothes with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Ruſſel refuſed to ſave his own life, by an expedient which might expoſe his friend to ſo many hardſhips. When the duke of Monmouth, by meſſage, offered to ſurrender himſelf, if Ruſſel thought that this meaſure would any-wiſe contribute to his ſafety; "It will be no advantage to "me," he ſaid, "to have my friends die with me." Some of his expreſſions diſcover, not only compoſure, but good humour, in this melancholy extremity.

mity. The day before his execution he was ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe. "I ſhall not now let "blood to divert this diſtemper," ſaid he, to doctor Burnet who attended him; "that will be done to-"morrow." A little before the ſheriffs conducted him to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch, "Now "I have done," ſaid he, "with time, and hence-"forth muſt think ſolely of eternity."

The ſcaffold was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields, a place diſtant from the Tower; and it was probably intended, by conducting Ruſſel through ſo many ſtreets, to ſhow the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of all their confidence, now expoſed to the utmoſt rigours of the law. As he was the moſt popular among his own party; ſo was he ever the leaſt obnoxious to the oppoſite faction: and his melancholy fate united every heart, ſenſible of humanity, in a tender compaſſion for him. Without the leaſt change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two ſtrokes, it was ſevered from his body.

Algernon Sidney was next brought to his trial. This gallant perſon had entered deeply into the war againſt the late king; but though nominated as one of the tribunal, he had refuſed to ſit in judgment on that unhappy monarch. He had oppoſed the uſurpation of Cromwel; had, on the reſtoration, retired into voluntary baniſhment; but, finding it neceſſary for his private affairs to return to England, he had applied for the king's pardon, and obtained it. When factions run high he joined the popular party, and was willing to ſeek a ſecond time, through all the horrors of civil war, for his adored republic.

The only witneſs who depoſed againſt Sidney was lord Howard; but, as the law required two witneſſes, a ſtrange expedient was fallen on to ſupply this deficiency. In ranſacking the priſoner's cloſet, ſome diſcourſes on government were found; in which he had maintained principles, favourable indeed to liberty, but ſuch as the beſt and moſt dutiful ſubjects

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in all ages have been known to embrace; the original contract, the ſource of power from a conſent of the people, the lawfulneſs of reſiſting tyrants, the preference of liberty to the government of a ſingle perſon. Theſe papers were aſſerted to be equivalent to a ſecond witneſs, and even to many witneſſes. The priſoner replied, that there was no other reaſon for aſcribing theſe papers to him as the author, beſides a ſimilitude of hand; a proof which was never admitted in criminal proſecutions: that allowing him to be the author, he had compoſed them ſolely for his private amuſement, and had never publiſhed them to the world, or even communicated them to any ſingle perſon: that, when examined, they appeared, by the colour of the ink, to have been written many years before, and were in vain produced as evidence of a preſent conſpiracy againſt the government: and that where the law poſitively requires two witneſſes, one witneſs, attended with the moſt convincing circumſtances, could never ſuffice; much leſs, when ſupported by a circumſtance ſo weak and precarious. All theſe arguments, though urged by the priſoner with great courage and pregnancy of reaſon, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief juſtice; and, by his direction, a partial jury was eaſily prevailed on to give verdict againſt Sidney. His execution followed a few days after: he complained, and with reaſon, of the iniquity of the ſentence; but he had too much greatneſs of mind to deny thoſe conſpiracies with Monmouth and Ruſſel, in which he had been engaged. He rather gloried, that he now ſuffered for that *good old cauſe*, in which, from his earlieſt youth, he ſaid, he had inliſted himſelf.

Howard, was alſo the ſole evidence againſt Hambden; who was therefore only indicted for a miſdemeanor; but the fine impoſed was exorbitant; no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

On the day that Ruſſel was tried, Eſſex, a man eminent both for virtues and abilities, was found in

the Tower, with his throat cut. Some inſinuations were on this occaſion thrown out againſt the king and duke, as if they had been the authors of this bloody deed. But from every diſpaſſionate inquiry it appears that he fell by his own hand. He had long been ſubject to fits of melancholy; and was accuſtomed to maintain the lawfulneſs of ſuicide.

Some memorable cauſes, tried about this time, though they have no relation to the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, ſhow the temper of the bench and of the juries. Oates was convicted of having called the duke a popiſh traitor; was condemned in damages to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds; and was adjudged to remain in priſon till he ſhould make payment. A like ſentence was paſſed upon Dutton-Colt for a like offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiſton was fined ten thouſand pounds; becauſe in ſome private letters which had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government.

The duke of Monmouth had abſconded on the firſt diſcovery of the conſpiracy; but on his writing two ſubmiſſive letters to the king, he was permitted to come to court. His pardon was ſigned in form; but on his afterwards retracting ſome confeſſions that he had made, he was baniſhed the preſence, and ordered to depart the kingdom.

A. D. 1684. The crown had gained great advantages by the detection of the conſpiracy; the moſt loyal addreſſes came from all parts. The king endeavoured to increaſe his preſent popularity by every art; and knowing, that the ſuſpicion of popery was of all others the moſt dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the lady Anne, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark.

Had the leaſt ſpark of jealouſy exiſted in the king's character, it muſt have been blown into a flame, but the ſuperiority aſſumed by the king of France, who now acted as if he were ſole ſovereign in Europe, and as if all other princes were wont to become

become his vaſſals. He ſeized the important town of Straſburg, an ancient and free ſtate; he wreſted Luxembourg from the Spaniards, and bombarded Genoa. Spain, impatient of the inſolent treatment that ſhe met with, flew to arms, without conſidering her weak condition. The prince of Orange was ardent to ſecond her; and, in 1681, he had made a journey to England to engage Charles in the ſame deſign. But he found that monarch deaf to his remonſtrances; the gold of Lewis was too neceſſary to the royal pleaſures to be relinguiſhed; and it appears that Charles, beſides receiving a conſiderable ſum annually from the king of France, was gratified with a million of livres ſterling for his connivance at the ſeizure of Luxembourg.

Yet though the king had broken a faction which threatened to ſubvert his throne; though he had recovered his former popularity, and was enabled to govern without a parliament; it is certain, that he found himſelf neither happy nor ſatisfied. Perhaps the violent temper of the duke by puſhing him upon dangerous attempts, gave him apprehenſion and uneaſineſs. He was overheard one day to ſay, in oppoſing ſome of the duke's haſty counſels, "Brother, I am too "old to go again to my travels: you may, if you "chuſe it." Whatever was the cauſe of the king's diſſatisfaction, it ſeems probable, that he was meditating ſome change of meaſures, and had formed a new plan of adminiſtration. He was determined, it is thought, to ſend the duke to Scotland, to recall Monmouth, to ſummon a parliament, to diſmiſs all his unpopular miniſters, and to throw himſelf entirely on the good will and affections of his ſubjects. Amidſt theſe truly wiſe and virtuous deſigns, he was ſeized with a ſudden fit, which reſembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, he languiſhed only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-

A. D. 1685.

fifth of his reign. He was ſo happy in a good conſtitution of body, and had ever been ſo remarkably careful of his health, that his death ſtruck as great a ſurpriſe into his ſubjects, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And their great concern for him, owing to their affection for his perſon, as well as their dread of his ſucceſſor, very naturally, when joined to the critical time of his death, begat the ſuſpicion of poiſon. All circumſtances however conſidered, this ſuſpicion muſt be allowed to vaniſh; like many others, of which all hiſtories are full.

During the few days of the king's illneſs, clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he diſcovered a total indifference towards their devotions and exhortations. Catholic prieſts were brought, and he received the ſacrament from them, accompanied with the other rites of the Romiſh church. Two papers were found in his cabinet, written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that communion. The duke had the imprudence immediately to publiſh theſe papers, and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of thoſe who had been the greateſt enemies to his brother's meaſures, and afforded to the world a ſpecimen of his own bigotry.

Charles, if conſidered as a companion, was the moſt amiable and engaging of men. His love of ralliery was ſo tempered with good breeding, that it was never offenſive: his propenſity to ſatire was ſo checked with diſcretion, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it: his wit, to uſe the expreſſion of one who knew him well, and who was himſelf a good judge, could not be ſaid ſo much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealouſy and apprehenſion in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit.

In the duties of private life, he was an eaſy generous lover, a civil, obliging huſband, a friendly bro-

ther, an indulgent father, and a good-natured huſband. In his friendſhips, however, he never attached himſelf with a ſincere affection; and he was too apt to believe ſelf-intereſt the only motive of any one's conduct.

With a detail of his private virtues, we muſt ſet bounds to our panegyric on Charles. When we conſider him as a ſovereign, his character was dangerous to his people, and diſhonourable to himſelf. Negligent of the intereſts of the nation, careleſs of its glory, averſe to its religion, jealous of its liberty, laviſh of its treaſure, ſparing only of its blood; he expoſed it by his meaſures, though he ever appeared but in ſport, to the danger of a furious civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conqueſt.

CHAP. XXV.

JAMES II.

King's firſt Tranſactions.---Oates convicted of Perjury.---Monmouth's Invaſion.---His defeat and execution.---Cruelties of Kirke and Jefferies.---Argyle's defeat and execution.---State of Ireland.---Breach between the King and Church.---Court of Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.---Sentence againſt the Biſhop of London.---Suſpenſion of the Penal Laws.---Attempt upon Magdalen College.---Impriſonment, Trial, and Acquittal of the Biſhops.---Birth of the Prince of Wales.---Conduct of the Prince of Orange.---Coalition of Parties.---Prince's Preparations---His Declaration---Lands in England.---Deſertion of the Army.---Of the Princeſs Anne.---King's Flight ----Seized at Feverſham.---Second Eſcape.---His Character.---Convention ſummoned.---Free Conference between the Houſes.---Settlement of the Crown.---Manners and Sciences.

A. D. 1685. THE firſt act of James's reign was to aſſemble the privy-council; where, he made profeſſions to maintain the eſtabliſhed government in church and ſtate. This language was received with great applauſe, not only by the council, but by the nation; the king, however in the firſt exerciſe of his authority ſhewed that theſe expreſſions were not ſincere. All the cuſtoms and the greater part of the exciſe had been ſettled by parliament on the late king during life, and conſequently the grant was now expired; nor had the ſucceſſor any right to levy theſe branches of revenue. But James iſſued a proclamation, ordering the cuſtoms and exciſe to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the leaſt act or even appearance of condeſcenſion.

The king likewiſe went openly to maſs; and by this imprudence he diſplayed at once his arbitrary diſpoſition, and the bigotry of his principles. His impatience

impatience to reſtore England to the catholic church, was blamed even by the pope; and was productive of a ſevere ſarcaſm from the Spaniſh ambaſſador Ronquillo. He obſerved to the king, how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed him not to aſſent with too great facility to their dangerous counſels. "Is it not the cuſtom in Spain," ſaid James, "for the king to conſult with his confeſſor?" "Yes," replied the ambaſſador, "and it is for that very reaſon our affairs ſucceed ſo ill."

Notwithſtanding the king's prejudices, all the chief offices of the crown continued ſtill in the hands of proteſtants. Rocheſter was treaſurer; his brother Clarendon chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland ſecretary of ſtate; Halifax preſident of the council. This nobleman had ſtood in oppoſition to James during the laſt years of his brother's reign; and when he attempted, on the acceſſion, to make ſome apology for his late meaſures, the king told him, that he would forget every thing paſt, except his behaviour during the bill of excluſion.

The queen, who was a woman of ſpirit, had much influence over the king; and ſhe was governed by the prieſts, eſpecially the Jeſuits; but James had another attachment, ſeemingly not very conſiſtent with his regard to his queen and his prieſts. It was to Mrs. Sedley, whom he ſoon after created counteſs of Dorcheſter, a lady of much wit, which ſhe perpetually levelled againſt the Jeſuits, and their counſels. The latter prevailed ſo far, under pretence of conſulting James's reputation, as to procure the removal of Mrs. Sedley from court; but in this reſolution James had not the courage to perſevere.

However little inclination the king might bear to an Engliſh parliament, it was abſolutely neceſſary at the beginning of the reign to ſummon that aſſembly. The odium under which the whigs laboured, on account of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, had ſuch effects, that the new houſe of commons

conſiſted almoſt entirely of zealous tories and churchmen. They were ſtrongly biaſſed in favour of the crown; yet the diſcourſe that the king made to the parliament was more fitted to work on their fears, than on their affections. He required them to ſettle his revenue, and during life too, as in the time of his brother. There is indeed one "popular argument," added he, "which may be urged againſt compli-
"ance with my demand: men may think, that by
"ſeeding me from time to time with ſuch ſupplies
"as they think convenient, they will better ſecure
"frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is
"the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the throne, I
"muſt plainly tell you, that ſuch an expedient would
"be very improper to employ with me, and that
"the beſt way to engage me to meet you often, is
"always to uſe me well."

By this language the king plainly intimated, that he had reſources in his prerogative, for ſupporting the government independent of their ſupplies. Such pretenſions placed the parliament in a very delicate ſituation. It was obſerved, that as arms were entruſted altogether in the hands of the prince, it would be the moſt egregious folly to abandon the only check upon him, the dependent condition of his revenue; eſpecially, when the religious zeal by which he was actuated, was ſo well known. This very circumſtance was however converted into an argument in favour of his demand; and it was anſwered, that the king's prejudices in favour of popery, were ſo far fortunate, that they rendered the connexion inſeparable between the national religion and national liberty. And that if any illegal attempts were afterwards made, the church, which was at preſent the chief ſupport of the crown, would ſurely catch the alarm, and would ſoon diſpoſe the people to an effectual reſiſtance.

This reaſon, enforced by the prejudice of the party, prevailed in parliament. The commons voted unanimouſly, that they would ſettle on his preſent majeſty during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king;

king; James having demanded a further ſupply for the navy and other purpoſes, they revived thoſe duties on wines and vinegar, which had once been enjoyed by the late king; and they added ſome impoſitions on tobacco and ſugar. This grant amounted on the whole to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds a-year.

The houſe of lords were in a humour no leſs compliant. They even went ſome lengths towards breaking in pieces all the remains of the popiſh plot; that once formidable engine of bigotry and faction.

A little before the meeting of parliament, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments. Never criminal was convicted on fuller and more undoubted evidence. He was ſentenced to be fined a thouſand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be impriſoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The impudence of the man ſupported itſelf under the conviction, and his courage under the puniſhment. He made ſolemn appeals to Heaven, and proteſtations of the veracity of his teſtimony: though the whipping was ſo cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that puniſhment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover: and he lived to king Williams's reign; when a penſion of four hundred pounds a-year was ſettled on him.

On the conviction of Oates, the popiſh lords, Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, were freed from their impeachment; but the courſe of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival in the weſt with three ſhips from Holland. No ſooner was this intelligence conveyed to the parliament, than they voted that they would adhere to his majeſty with their lives and fortunes. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt Monmouth; and they granted a ſupply of four hundred thouſand pounds for

ſuppreſſing his rebellion. Having thus ſtrengthened the hands of the king, they adjourned themſelves.

On the acceſſion of James, Monmouth had retired from Holland to Bruſſels; finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the king's ſeverity, he was urged by the impatient humour of Argyle, who ſet out for Scotland a little before him, to make a raſh and premature attempt on England. He landed at Lime in Dorſetſhire, with ſcarcely an hundred followers; and ſo popular was his name, that in four days, he had aſſembled above two thouſand horſe and foot. He called the king, duke of York, and denominated him a popiſh uſurper. The duke of Albemarle, ſon to him who reſtored the royal family, had aſſembled the militia of Devonſhire at Axminſter; but finding his troops far from hearty in the cauſe, he thought proper to retire from an ill-grounded diffidence in his men; Monmouth neglected to attack him, an eaſy enterpriſe, by which he might both have acquired credit, and have ſupplied himſelf with arms. He, however, advanced to Taunton, where he was perſuaded to take upon him the title of king; and he was received into, and proclaimed in Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome. But though he had formerly given many proofs of perſonal courage, he had not the vigour of mind requiſite for an undertaking of this nature. He allowed the expectation of the people to languiſh without attempting any conſiderable enterpriſes. He entruſted the command of his horſe to lord Grey, a notorious coward; and on hearing of the defeat of Argyle his confederate, he ſunk into deſpondence. His negligence, invited the earl of Feverſham, the royal general to attack him at Sedgmoor. His men, however, in the action ſhowed what a native courage and a principle of duty, even when unaſſiſted by diſcipline, is able to perform. They threw the veteran forces into diſorder; drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at laſt have obtained a victory, had not the

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miſconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Gray prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way; and were followed with great ſlaughter. About 1500 fell in the battle and purſuit. And thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterpriſe, raſhly undertaken, and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles till his horſe ſunk under him. He then changed clothes with a peaſant in order to conceal himſelf. The peaſant was diſcovered by the purſuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their ſearch. At laſt, the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern: his body depreſſed with fatigue and hunger; his mind by the memory of paſt misfortunes, by the proſpect of future diſaſters. Human nature is unequal to ſuch calamitous ſituations; much more, the temper of a man, ſoftened by early proſperity, and accuſtomed to value himſelf ſolely on military bravery. He burſt into tears when ſeized by his enemies; and he ſeemed ſtill to indulge the fond hope and deſire of life. Though he might have known, from the greatneſs of his own offences, and the ſeverity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the moſt ſubmiſſive letters, and conjured him to ſpare the iſſue of a brother, who had ever been ſo ſtrongly attached to his intereſt. James, finding ſuch ſymptoms of depreſſion and deſpondency in the unhappy priſoner, admitted him to his preſence, in hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices: But Monmouth would not purchaſe life, however loved, at the price of ſo much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepared himſelf for death, with a ſpirit better ſuited to his rank and character. This favourite of the people was attended to the ſcaffold with a plentiful effuſion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where it had been neceſſary to repeat the blow. This precaution

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ſerved only to diſmay the executioner. He ſtruck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a ſecond time; and the executioner ſtruck him again and again to no purpoſe. He then threw aſide the axe, and cried out that he was incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. The ſheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body.

This victory obtained by the king, would naturally, had it been managed with prudence, have tended much to increaſe his power and authority; but the cruelty with which it was proſecuted, was a principal cauſe of his ſudden ruin and downfall. The ſavage Kirke, who had ſerved at Tangiers, at his firſt entry into Bridgewater, hanged nineteen priſoners, without the leaſt enquiry into the merits of their cauſe. As if to make ſport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company ſhould drink the king's health, or the queen's, or that of chief-juſtice Jefferies. Obſerving their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them muſic to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to ſound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, queſtioning him at each interval, whether he repented of his crime: but the man obſtinately aſſerting that, notwithſtanding the paſt, he ſtill would willingly engage in the ſame cauſe, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One ſtory, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herſelf at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could beſtow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with deſire, not ſoftened into love or clemency. He promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided that ſhe, in her turn, would

would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: but, after ſhe had paſſed the night with him, the wanton ſavage, next morning, ſhowed her, from a window, her brother, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be there erected for the execution. Rage and deſpair and indignation took poſſeſſion of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were expoſed to the ravages of this barbarian. The ſoldiery were let looſe to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, inſtructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleaſantry he uſed to call them *his lambs*; an appellation which was long remembered with horror in the weſt of England.

The violent Jefferies ſhowed the people, that the rigours of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. The juries ſtruck with his menaces gave their verdicts with precipitation; many innocent perſons, it is ſaid, were involved with the guilty; and at Dorcheſter alone eighty were executed. For theſe ſervices, Jefferies was created a peer, and was ſoon after inveſted with the dignity of chancellor. But theſe continued executions only ſerved to impreſs an univerſal hatred againſt the miniſters of juſtice and the court.

In Scotland the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth; the parliament of Edinburgh had acknowledged the king's authority to be abſolute; and had diſplayed the moſt abject ſervility. It was in vain that Argyle ſummoned a people, ſo loſt to all ſenſe of liberty, to riſe in vindication of their violated laws and privileges. On his landing in Argyleſhire, a few of his own vaſſals indeed joined him; but he was ſurrounded on all ſides with inſuperable difficulties. His arms and ammunition were ſeiſed; his proviſions cut off; his followers

lowers daily fell from him; and his decreaſing army was at laſt defeated and diſperſed. He himſelf was ſeiſed and carried to Edinburgh; where after enduring many indignities with a gallant ſpirit, he was publicly executed. He ſuffered on the former unjuſt ſentence which had been paſſed upon him.

The king was ſo elated with this tide of proſperity, that he began to undervalue even an Engliſh parliament; he took notice, that he had employed a great many catholic officers, and that he had in their favour diſpenſed with the teſt act; and ſuch violent averſion did this parliament bear to oppoſition, that it is probable had James uſed his diſpenſing power, without declaring it, no inquiries would have been made, and time might have reconciled the nation to this dangerous exerciſe of prerogative. But this daring invaſion of the conſtitution, called forth ſome remains of the Engliſh ſpirit. The commons proceeded to examine the diſpenſing power, and they voted an addreſs to the king againſt it. Before this addreſs was preſented, they reſumed the conſideration of the ſupply; and as one million two hundred thouſand pounds were demanded by the court, and two hundred thouſand propoſed by the country party, a middle courſe was choſen, and ſeven hundred thouſand, after ſome diſpute, were at laſt voted. The addreſs againſt the diſpenſing power was expreſſed in moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive terms; yet was it very ill received by the king, and his anſwer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth and vehemence. The commons were ſo daunted with this reply, that they kept ſilence a long time; and when Coke, a member for Derby, roſe up and ſaid, "I hope we are all Engliſhmen, and not to be "frightened with a few hard words;" ſo little ſpirit appeared in that aſſembly, often ſo refractory and mutinous, that they ſent him to the Tower for bluntly expreſſing a free and generous ſentiment. They adjourned, without fixing a day for the conſideration of his majeſty's anſwer; and on their next meeting, they ſubmiſſively proceeded to the conſideration of the

the ſupply, and even went ſo far as to eſtabliſh funds for paying the ſum voted, in nine years and a half. The king, therefore, had, in effect, almoſt without conteſt or violence obtained a complete victory over the commons; and that aſſembly, inſtead of guarding their liberties, now expoſed to manifeſt peril, conferred an additional revenue on the crown; and by rendering the king in ſome degree independent, contributed to increaſe thoſe dangers with which they had ſo much reaſon to be alarmed.

The next oppoſition came from the houſe of peers, which has not commonly taken the lead on theſe occaſions; and even from the bench of biſhops, where the court uſually expects the greateſt complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. The upper houſe had been brought, in the firſt days of the ſeſſion, to give general thanks for the king's ſpeech; by which compliment they were underſtood, according to the practice of that time, to have acquieſced in every part of it: yet, notwithſtanding that ſtep, Compton, biſhop of London, in his own name and that of his brethren, moved that a day ſhould be appointed for taking the ſpeech into conſideration: he was ſeconded by Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt. Jefferies, the chancellor, oppoſed the motion; and ſeemed inclined to uſe in that houſe the ſame arrogance to which on the bench he had ſo long been accuſtomed: but he was ſoon taught to know his place; and he proved, by his behaviour, that inſolence, when checked, naturally ſinks into meanneſs and cowardice. The biſhop of London's motion prevailed.

The king was ſo irritated by this appearance of reſiſtance, and ſo violent were the ſchemes ſuggeſted by his own bigotry, and that of the prieſts, that without any delay, he immediately proceeded to a prorogation. He continued the parliament during a year and a half by four more prorogations; but having in vain tried by ſeparate applications to break the obſtinacy of the leading members, he at laſt diſſolved that aſſembly.

The open declaration of James to diſpenſe with the teſts, had ſtruck an univerſal alarm throughout the nation; had infuſed terror into the church; and had even diſguſted the army. The former horror againſt popery was revived; and was ſtrengthened by another incident which happened at that time.

Lewis the XIVth having long haraſſed the proteſtants, had at length revoked entirely the edict of Nantz, which had been enacted by Henry the IVth, for ſecuring them the free exerciſe of their religion. From the proſecutions to which they were expoſed, above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects fled from France. Near fifty thouſand of theſe paſſed over into England; and from their repreſentations augmented the dread that was entertained of the abolition of the proteſtant religion. Yet, in the preſent jealous diſpoſition of the people, the king perſevered in his purpoſe. Having failed in bringing over the parliament, he made an attempt with more ſucceſs for eſtabliſhing his diſpenſing power, by a verdict of the judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proſelyte, had accepted a commiſſion of colonel; and directions were given to his coachman to proſecute him for the penalty of five hundred pounds, which the law, eſtabliſhing the teſts, had granted to informers.

A. D. 1686.

But before the cauſe was brought on, James ſenſible of the prepoſſeſſions entertained againſt the uſe which he here made of his prerogative, diſplaced four of the judges, Jones, Montague, Charleton, and Nevil. Such a ſtep could not fail of ſecuring a deciſion in his favour; but whatever topics the lawyers might uſe, the majority of the nation ſtill conſidered the diſpenſing power, as fatal to liberty; it was not likely, that the authority which had been aſſumed through many obſtacles, would lie in the hands of the king idle and unemployed. Four catholic lords were brought into the privy council, Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover. Halifax, finding that, notwithſtanding

withſtanding his paſt merits, he poſſeſſed no real credit or authority, became refractory in his oppoſition; and his office of privy ſeal was given to Arundel. The king was open, as well as zealous, in the deſire of making converts; and men plainly ſaw, that the only way to acquire his affection and confidence was by a ſacrifice of their religion. Sunderland, ſome time after, ſcrupled not to gain favour at this price. Rocheſter, the treaſurer, though the king's brother-in-law, yet, becauſe he refuſed to give this inſtance of complaiſance, was turned out of his office: the treaſury was put in commiſſion, and Bellaſis was placed at the head of it. All the courtiers were diſguſted, even ſuch as had little regard to religion. The diſhonour, as well as diſtruſt, attending renagades, made moſt men reſolve, at all hazards, to adhere to their ancient faith.

In Scotland James's zeal for proſelytiſm was more ſucceſsful; ſeveral noblemen were brought over to the court religion; by a compliance in this reſpect, the earl of Perth, the commiſſioner for that kingdom, was fully reſtored to the royal favour; and it was the lively ſaying of Halifax, *that his faith had made him whole.*

In Ireland, the maſk was wholly thrown off; Ormond was recalled; and the chief power was lodged in the hands of general Talbot, ſoon after created earl of Tyrconnel; a man who from the blindneſs of his prejudices, and the fury of his temper, was tranſported with the moſt immeaſurable ardour for the cauſe. The proteſtants beheld themſelves delivered into the hands of their moſt inveterate enemies; they were ſtripped of their arms on pretence of ſecuring the public peace; a barbarous banditti was let looſe to prey upon them; and even a renewal of the ancient maſſacres were hourly expected.

All judicious perſons of the catholic communion were diſguſted with thoſe violent meaſures; but James was entirely governed by the raſh counſels of the

the queen, and of his confeſſor, father Peters, a Jeſuit, whom he ſoon created a privy-counſellor. The church which had ſupported hitherto the claims of the throne, was now alienated by the more immediate danger of popery. The preachers had been ordered by the king to avoid all controverſy; but inſtead of obeying, the regular clergy loudly declaimed againſt the odious tenets of the ſee of Rome. Dr. Sharpe, had, on this occaſion, rendered himſelf peculiarly obnoxious; and poſitive orders were iſſued to the biſhop of London, his dioceſan, immediately to ſuſpend him. The prelate replied, that he could not poſſibly obey theſe commands, and that he was not empowered, in ſuch a ſummary manner, to inflict any puniſhment even upon the greateſt delinquent. But neither this obvious reaſon, nor the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſions, both of the prelate and of Sharpe himſelf, could appeaſe the court. The king was determined to proceed with violence in the proſecution of this affair. The biſhop himſelf he reſolved to puniſh for diſobedience to his commands; and the expedient, which he employed for that purpoſe, was of a nature at once the moſt illegal and moſt alarming.

Though, on the abolition of the court of high commiſſion, in the reign of Charles I. a law had paſſed prohibiting the future erection of any ſimilar court, James deemed this no obſtacle; he appointed ſeven commiſſioners with full authority over the church of England; before theſe, the biſhop of London, and Sharpe were cited, and though they uſed the moſt conciliatory and ſubmiſſive language, they were both ſuſpended.

A. D. 1687. Almoſt the whole of this ſhort reign conſiſts of attempts, always imprudent, often illegal, ſometimes both, againſt whatever was moſt loved and revered by the nation. Inflamed by a falſe notion of his prerogative, James iſſued his proclamation, ſuſpending all the penal laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs; and granting a general liberty of

of conſcience to all his ſubjects. He was not deterred by the reflection, both that this ſcheme of indulgence was already blaſted by two fruitleſs attempts; and that in ſuch a government as that of England, it was not ſufficient that a prerogative be approved of by ſome lawyers and antiquaries: if it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was ſtill exerted, the victory over national liberty was no leſs ſignal than if obtained by the moſt flagrant injuſtice and uſurpation. Theſe two conſiderations indeed would rather ſerve to recommend this project to James; who deemed himſelf ſuperior in vigour and activity to his brother, and who probably thought that his people enjoyed no liberties, but by his royal conceſſion and indulgence.

In order to procure a better reception for his edict of toleration, the king, finding himſelf oppoſed by the church, began to pay court to the diſſenters, in order to play off one party againſt the other; but his intentions were too obvious for him even to gain the ſincere confidence of the non-conformiſts; and the precipitate conduct of affairs of Ireland, rendered the proſpects the moſt alarming.

Tyrconnel had carried over with him as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who was taken from a jail, and who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes, but who compenſated for all theſe enormities by a headlong zeal for the catholic religion. He was heard to ſay from the bench, that the proteſtants were all rogues; and the whole tenor of his adminiſtration was ſuitable to ſuch a ſentiment. The charters of Dublin were annulled; the proteſtant freemen were expelled; catholics were introduced; and the latter ſect, as they always were the majority in number, were now inveſted with the whole power of the kingdom.

But the king was not content with diſcovering his intentions in his own kingdom, he was reſolved that all Europe ſhould be witneſs to them. He publicly ſent the earl of Caſtlemaine ambaſſador extraordinary

to Rome, in order to expreſs his obeiſance to the pope, and to make advances for reconciling his kingdoms, in form, to the catholic communion. Never man, who came on ſo important an errand, met with ſo many neglects, and even affronts, as Caſtlemaine. The pontiff, inſtead of being pleaſed with this forward ſtep, concluded that a ſcheme, conducted with ſo much indiſcretion, could never poſſibly be ſucceſsful. And as he was engaged in a violent quarrel with the French monarch, a quarrel which intereſted him more nearly than the converſion of England, he bore little regard to James, whom he believed too cloſely connected with his capital enemy.

The only proof of complaiſance which James received from the pontiff, was his ſending a nuncio to England. By act of parliament any communication with the pope was treaſon; yet, the nuncio had a ſolemn reception at Windſor, and reſided openly at London, during the reſt of the reign. Four catholic biſhops were alſo openly conſecrated in the king's chapel; and were ſent out to exerciſe the epiſcopal function.

Yet, James conſcious, that, while he ſhocked the principles of his proteſtant ſubjects, he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance, he would gladly have obtained the ſanction of parliament to the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws. For this purpoſe, he had private conferences with many of the members; but he found their obſtinacy in this particular ſo great, that he diſſolved the old parliament, and was determined to call a new one, from which he expected more complaiſance and ſubmiſſion. By the practice of annulling the charters, the king was become maſter of all the corporations, and could at pleaſure change every where the whole magiſtracy. The church party, therefore, by whom the crown had been hitherto ſo remarkably ſupported, and to whom the king viſibly owed his ſafety from all the efforts of his enemies, was deprived of authority; and the diſſenters, thoſe very

very enemies, were, firſt in London, and afterwards in every other corporation, ſubſtituted in their place. Not content with this violent and dangerous innovation, the king appointed certain regulators to examine the qualifications of electors; and directions were given them to exclude all ſuch as adhered to the teſt and penal ſtatutes; but the catholics to whom James had devoted himſelf were ſcarcely the hundredth part of the people; and the king finding little hopes of ſucceſs in ſummoning a parliament, proceeded ſtill in the exerciſe of his illegal authority.

The whole power in Ireland had been committed to catholics. In Scotland all the miniſters, whom the king chiefly truſted, were converts to that religion; every great office in England, was gradually transferred from the proteſtants; and nothing now remained but to open the door in the church and the univerſities, to the followers of the Romiſh communion.

It was not long before the king made this attempt. The univerſity of Oxford had lately made a ſolemn profeſſion of paſſive obedience; and the court probably expected that they would ſhow their ſincerity when their turn came to practiſe the doctrine. The perſident of Magdalen college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was ſent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one who, beſides his being a catholic, had not, in other reſpects, the qualifications required by the ſtatutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made ſubmiſſive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but before they received an anſwer, the day came, on which, by their ſtatutes, they were obliged to proceed to an election. They choſe Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, as well as of the firmneſs and vigour requiſite for maintaining his own rights and thoſe of the univerſity. In order to puniſh the college for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was ſent down, and the new preſident and the followers were

cited before it. So little regard had been paid to any conſideration beſides religion, that Farmer, on inquiry, was found guilty of the loweſt and moſt ſcandalous vices; inſomuch that even the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were aſhamed to inſiſt on his election. A new mandate, therefore, was iſſued in favour of Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford, a man of a proſtitute character, but who, like Farmer, atoned for all his vices by his avowed willingneſs to embrace the catholic religion. The college repreſented, that all preſidents had ever been appointed by election, and there were few inſtances of the king's interpoſing by his recommendation in favour of any candidate; that having already made a regular election of a preſident, they could not deprive him of his office, and, during his life-time, ſubſtitute any other in his place; that, even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the ſtatutes of their founder, could not be choſen; that they had all of them bound themſelves by oath to obſerve theſe ſtatutes, and never on any account to accept of a diſpenſation; and that the college had at all times ſo much diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its loyalty, that nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity could now oblige them to oppoſe his majeſty's inclinations. All theſe reaſons availed them nothing. The preſident and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the office.

A. D. 1688. The next meaſure of the court rendered the breach between the eccleſiaſtics incurable: the king had publiſhed a ſecond declaration of indulgence; and he ſubjoined an order, that immediately after divine ſervice, it ſhould be read by the clergy in all the churches; as they were known univerſally to diſapprove of the uſe made of the diſpenſing power, their compliance would have expoſed them to public contempt. They were determined therefore to preſerve the regard of the people: their only protection, while the laws were

were become of ſo little validity, and while the court was ſo deeply engaged in oppoſite intereſts. In order to encourage them in this reſolution, ſix prelates, namely Lloyde, biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Briſtol, met privately with the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the king. They there repreſent in few words, that, though poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſenſe of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given ſuch eminent teſtimonies; and though deſirous of affording eaſe, in a legal way, to all proteſtant diſſenters; yet, becauſe that declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conſcience, ſo far make themſelves parties as the diſtribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. They therefore beſought the king, that he would not inſiſt upon their reading that declaration.

The king immediately embraced the raſh reſolution of puniſhing the biſhops for their popular petitions. On their refuſal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received directions to proſecute them for the ſeditious libel which, it was pretended, they had compoſed and uttered.

The people eſpouſed the intereſts of the prelates with all the ardour that religion and liberty could inſpire. They crowded round to receive their bleſſings as they were conveyed to the Tower. Their paſſage, when conducted to their trial, was, if poſſible, attended by a greater concourſe of ſpectators. The lawyers for them were ſir Robert Sawyer, ſir Francis Pemberton, Pollexſen, Treby, and Sommers. They urged the right of the ſubjects to petition, whenever aggrieved, provided they kept within certain bounds which the prelates had obſerved. They argued, that when any perſon found commands to be impoſed on him, which he could

not obey, it was more reſpectful to offer his reaſons for refuſal than to remain in a ſullen ſilence. They remarked, that it could be no ſedition to deny the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws, becauſe there really was no ſuch prerogative. Theſe arguments were heard with a favourable diſpoſition by the audience; even ſome of the judges, though their ſeats were held during pleaſure, declared for the priſoners. It was not, however, until after ſeveral hours of deliberation that the jury brought in their verdict, *Not guilty*. The intelligence was echoed through the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without; and was propagated with infinite joy through the kingdom. It rapidly reached the army which the king had, ever ſince Monmouth's rebellion, encamped on Hounſlow-heath. It happened, that on the very day on which the trial of the biſhops was finiſhed, James had reviewed the troops, and had retired into the tent of lord Feverſham, the general; when he was ſurpriſed to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of tumultuary joy. He ſuddenly inquired the cauſe, and was told by Feverſham, "It was nothing but "the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of "the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but ſo much the worſe for them."

James, however, was ſtill determined to perſevere in the ſame cauſe; he ſtruck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the biſhops. He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen who had not read his declaration; that is, the whole church of England, two hundred excepted: he ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madura: and he is even ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon to the ſee of Oxford.

A few days after the acquittal of the biſhops, an event happened, which in the king's ſentiments much

much overbalanced the mortifications received on that occaſion. The queen was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This bleſſing was impatiently longed for, not only by the king and queen, but by all the zealous catholics. It was in proportion diſguſting to the proteſtants. Calumny even went ſo far, as to aſcribe to the king the deſign of impoſing on the world a ſuppoſititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death ſupport the catholic religion in his dominions. The nation almoſt univerſally believed him capable, from bigotry, of committing any crime, as they had ſeen, that, from like motives, he was guilty of every imprudence: and the affections of nature, they thought, would be eaſily ſacrificed to the ſuperior motive of propagating a catholic and orthodox faith. The preſent occaſion was not the firſt, when that calumny had been invented. In the year 1682, the queen, then ducheſs of York, had been pregnant; and rumours were ſpread that an impoſture would at that time be obtruded upon the nation: but happily, the infant proved a female, and thereby ſpared the party all the trouble of ſupporting their improbable fiction.

Though every rank and denomination of men ſeemed alienated from the king, he yet might have ſucceeded in his raſh enterpriſes, had not an attack been made from abroad. The prince of Orange, ever ſince his marriage with the lady Mary, had conducted himſelf agreeably to that ſound undertaking with which he was endowed. How little ſoever he might approve of James's adminiſtration, he had kept total ſilence on the ſubject; to oppoſe the progreſs of the French monarch, was his grand object; and he had formed the deſign in uniting all Europe againſt the encroachments of the French. At Augſburg he had negociated a league between the States, Spain, and Savoy; yet, when hopes were given him that James might be brought to join the confederacy, if the prince would ſanction by his influ-

ence the repeal of the penal ſtatutes and the teſt, the penſionary Fagel was inſtructed by William to anſwer to this alluring propoſal, that the prince and princeſs gave heartily their conſent for repealing *legally* all the penal ſtatutes, as well thoſe which had been enacted againſt the catholics as againſt the proteſtant nonconformiſts; and would concur with the king in any meaſure for that purpoſe. That the teſt was not to be conſidered as a penalty inflicted on the profeſſors of any religion, but as a ſecurity provided for the eſtabliſhed worſhip. That it was no puniſhment on men to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues or induſtry. That even in the United Provinces, which were ſo often cited as models of toleration, though all ſects were admitted, yet civil offices were enjoyed by the profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed religion alone. That military commands, indeed, were ſometimes beſtowed on catholics; but as they were conferred with great precaution, and ſtill lay under the controul of the magiſtrate, they could give no juſt reaſon for umbrage. And that their Highneſſes, however deſirous of gratifying the king, and of endeavouring, by every means, to render his reign peaceable and happy, could not agree to any meaſure which would expoſe their religion to ſuch imminent danger.

When this letter was publiſhed, it gave courage to the proteſtants, in proportion as it diſguſted the king and the catholics. James, indeed, reſented it ſo ſtrongly, and began to take ſuch ſteps towards increaſing his navy, that the Dutch were apprehenſive that he only wanted a pretence to declare war againſt them. The prince, in his turn, began alſo to act with more vigour; he ſent over Dykvelt as his ambaſſador, and inſtructed him to apply in a proper manner to every ſect and denomination. That miniſter found many conſiderable perſons both in church and ſtate ſtrongly devoted to William. Admiral Herbert, though a man of great expence, and ſeemingly of little religion, had thrown up his employments,

ployments, and had retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the prince of the diſaffection of the ſeamen, by whom that admiral was extremely beloved. Admiral Ruſſel, couſin-german to the unfortunate lord of that name, paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and kept the communication open with all the great men of the proteſtant party. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, came over under pretence of drinking the waters at Spaw, and conveyed ſtill ſtronger aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the meaſures of the king. Lord Dumblaine, ſon of the earl of Danby, being maſter of a frigate, made ſeveral voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even conſiderable ſums of money, to the prince of Orange.

The prince, however, was afraid of hazarding by any violent meaſures, an inheritance which the laws inſured to the princeſs; when the birth of a ſon to the king blaſted his proſpects of ſucceſſion; and thus the event, which James had ſo long made the object of his moſt ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne, proved the immediate cauſe of his ruin and downfal.

Zuyleſtein, who had been ſent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his ſon, brought back to the prince invitations from moſt of the great men in England, to aſſiſt them, by his arms, in the recovery of their laws and liberties. The biſhop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonſhire, Dorſet, the duke of Norfolk, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland, Mr. Hambden, Powle, Leſter, beſides many eminent citizens of London; all theſe perſons, though of oppoſite parties, concurred in their applications to the prince. The whigs, the tories, the churchmen, and the nonconformiſts, forgetting their animoſities, were leagued againſt their miſguided ſovereign. The earl of Shrewſbury who had acquired great popularity by deſerting, at this time, the catholic religion, in which he had been

educated,

educated, left his regiment, mortgaged his eſtate for forty thouſand pounds, and made a tender of his ſword and purſe to the prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, notwithſtanding his age and infirmities, had taken a journey for the ſame purpoſe. Lord Mordaunt was at the Hague, and puſhed on the enterpriſe with that ardent and courageous ſpirit, for which he was ſo eminent. Even Sunderland, the king's favourite miniſter, is believed to have entered into a correſpondence with the prince; and, at the expence of his own honour and his maſter's intereſts, to have ſecretly favoured a cauſe, which, he foreſaw, was likely ſoon to predominate.

The prince was eaſily engaged to yield to the applications of the Engliſh; while England remained under the preſent government, he deſpaired of ever forming a league, which would be able to make oppoſition againſt Lewis. The trial of the biſhops had excited a fermentation in the nation, which was highly favourable to his views. His method of conducting his preparations, was ſuch as might be expected from his cautious character. He had ſecretly augmented the Dutch navy, levied troops, and raiſed conſiderable ſums of money. The States conſidered the enterpriſe as neceſſary to their domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity. Many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector, and were guided by him in all their councils. He held conferences with Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, with the electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and with the whole houſe of Lunenbourg. It was agreed, that theſe princes ſhould replace the troops employed againſt England, and ſhould protect the United Provinces during the abſence of the prince of Orange. Their forces were already on their march for that purpoſe: a conſiderable encampment of the Dutch army was formed at Nimeguen: every place was in movement; and though the roots of this conſpiracy reached from one end of Europe to the other,

ſo ſecret were the prince's counſels, and ſo fortunate was the ſituation of affairs, that he could ſtill cover his preparations under other pretences; and little ſuſpicion was entertained of his real intentions.

The king of France, menaced by the league of Augſbourg, had reſolved to ſtrike the firſt blow againſt the allies; and having ſought a quarrel with the emperor and the elector Palatine, he had invaded Germany with a great army, and had laid ſiege to Philipſbourg. The elector of Cologne, who was alſo biſhop of Liege and Munſter, and whoſe territories almoſt entirely ſurrounded the United Provinces, had died about this time; and the candidates for that rich ſucceſſion were prince Clement of Bavaria, ſupported by the houſe of Auſtria, and the cardinal of Furſtemberg, a prelate dependant on France. The pope, who favoured the allies, was able to throw the balance between the parties, and prince Clement was choſen; a circumſtance which contributed extremely to the ſecurity of the States. But as the cardinal kept poſſeſſion of many of the fortreſſes, and had applied to France for ſuccour, the neighbouring territories were full of troops; and by this means the preparations of the Dutch and their allies ſeemed intended merely for their own defence againſt the different enterpriſes of Lewis.

All the artifices, however, of the prince could not conceal his real intentions from the ſagacity of the French court. D'Avaux, Lewis's envoy at the Hague, had been able, by a compariſon of circumſtances, to trace the purpoſes of the preparations in Holland; and he inſtantly informed his maſter of this diſcovery. Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James; and accompanied the information with an important offer. He was willing to join a ſquadron of French ſhips to the Engliſh fleet; and to ſend over any number of troops, which James ſhould judge requiſite for his ſecurity. When this propoſal was rejected, he again offered to raiſe the ſiege of Philipſbourg, to march his army into the Nether-

Netherlands, and by the terror of his arms to detain the Dutch forces in their own country. This propoſal met with no better reception.

James, indeed, had reaſon to apprehend that a ſmall number of French troops might only tend to breed diſcontent; and that a great body of auxiliaries would reduce him to depend on their fidelity; even the invaſion of the Low Countries would have renewed the old ſuſpicion of a combination againſt Holland, and againſt the proteſtant religion.

Lewis made, however, one more effort to ſerve his friend; and he repreſented by his ambaſſador to the States, that any attempt againſt his ally, would be regarded as an act of hoſtility, againſt himſelf. This remonſtrance had a bad effect, it inflamed the States, and even diſpleaſed James. He was not reduced, he ſaid, to the condition of the cardinal of Furſtemberg, and obliged to ſeek the protection of France.

Yet the ſymptoms of diſcontent daily ſpread not only among the people, but through the fleet and army. The ſeamen began to mutiny, becauſe Strickland, a Roman catholic admiral, introduced the maſs. They declared, they would not fight againſt the Dutch, but were ready to give battle to the French, whom they regarded as natural enemies. The king had intended to augment his army with Iriſh recruits, and he reſolved to try the experiment on the regiment of the duke of Berwick, his natural ſon: but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refuſed to admit them; and to this oppoſition five captains ſteadily adhered. They were all caſhiered; and had not the diſcontents of the army on this occaſion become very apparent, it was reſolved to have puniſhed thoſe officers for mutiny.

The king ſoon after made a trial of his army more undiſguiſed; his intention was to engage all the regiments, one by one, to conſent to the repeal of the teſt and penal ſtatutes. The major of Litchfield's drew out the battalion before the king, and told them

them either to enter into his majeſty's views, or to lay down their arms. Two captains and a few popiſh ſoldiers excepted, the whole battalion embraced the latter alternative. James remained, for ſome moments, ſpeechleſs; but, recovering from his aſtoniſhment, with a ſullen air, he obſerved, "he could not again apply for their ap-"probation."

The intelligence, that he might ſoon look for a powerful invaſion from Holland increaſed his diſmay. He ſaw the precipice before him; and, to avoid it, began to retract thoſe meaſures which had created him ſo many foreign and domeſtic enemies. He replaced the lord lieutenants; reſtored the charter of London; annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; and reinſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen college: but it was conſtrued to a diſadvantage of his ſincerity, that, on being informed of the Dutch fleets being diſperſed by a ſtorm, he recalled, for ſome time, the conceſſions he had made to Magdalen college.

He now condeſcended to refute the rumour, that a ſuppoſititious child had been impoſed on the nation for the Prince of Wales, and to give proofs of the queen's pregnancy and delivery. Mean while the Prince of Orange's declaration was diſperſed over the kingdom. All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated; and, to redreſs theſe, to protect the king from evil counſellors, and to have a legal and free parliament aſſembled, was aſſerted by the prince to be the only objects of his enterpriſe.

The prince had ſailed from Helvoet with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and fourteen thouſand men. The damage he ſuſtained by a ſtorm was quickly repaired; and with a fair wind he made to the weſt of England. The ſame wind detained the king's fleet in their ſtation near Harwich, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the ſtreights

of Dover without oppoſition. Both ſhores were covered with multitudes of people, who, beſides admiring the grandeur of the ſpectacle, were held in anxious ſuſpenſe by the proſpect of an enterpriſe the moſt important, which, during ſome ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The prince had a proſperous voyage, and landed his army ſafely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder treaſon.

The Dutch army marched firſt to Exeter; and the prince's declaration was there publiſhed. That whole country was ſo terrified with the executions which had enſued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no one for ſeveral days joined the prince. The biſhop of Exeter, in a fright, fled to London, and carried to court intelligence of the invaſion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbiſhopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was univerſally believed, of beſtowing it on ſome catholic. The firſt perſon who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon of the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire, the earl of Danby ſeized York, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince, the earl of Devonſhire made the like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamſhire embraced the ſame cauſe: and every day there appeared ſome effect of that univerſal combination into which the nation had entered againſt the meaſures of the king. Even thoſe who took not the field againſt him, were able to embarraſs and confound his counſels. A petition for a free parliament was ſigned by twenty-four biſhops and peers

peers of the greateſt diſtinction, and was preſented to the king. No one thought of oppoſing or reſiſting the invader.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom was the diſaffection which pervaded the army. Lord Cornburg, and many officers of diſtinction carried over their regiments to the Prince of Orange; many more informed Feverſham the general, that they could not in conſcience draw their ſwords againſt the Dutch: and even lord Churchill, who, from the rank of a page had been created a peer, and who owed all his fortune to James, deſerted in this extremity, his unhappy maſter; and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural ſon to the late king.

James had arrived at Saliſbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this fatal intelligence. He found he could no longer confide in any one, and he embraced a ſudden reſolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a meaſure which could only ſerve to betray his fears, and provoke further treachery.

He was ſtill to receive a more mortal blow. His ſon-in-law Prince George of Denmark, who was entirely governed by lord Churchill and his lady, quitted the king at Andover to join the Prince of Orange; and the princeſs Anne, about the ſame time withdrew from London to Nottingham, with lady Churchill and the biſhop; and fled to Nottingham where ſhe was protected by the earl of Dorſet.

This ſtroke overwhelmed James; he exclaimed, in the extremity of his agony; "God help me, "my own children have forſaken me!" His fortune now expoſed him even to the contempt of his enemies. His laſt acts of royal authority were to iſſue writs for a new parliament, and to ſend Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin to treat with the Prince of Orange. He liſtened to the fears of the queen, and to the emiſſaries of France, who pre-

perſuaded him that nothing would more certainly retard the public ſettlement, and beget univerſal confuſion than his deſerting the kingdom; it was to this meaſure the Prince of Orange wiſhed to drive him; and, therefore, while he declined a perſonal conference with the royal commiſſioners, he had preſſed the march of his army towards London. His approach quickened the motions of James; who having ſent before hand his queen and infant prince, under the conduct of count Lawzun, an old favourite of the French
Dec. 12. monarch, diſappeared himſelf in the night time, attended only by ſir Edward Hales, and made the beſt of his way to a ſhip, which waited for him near the mouth of the river.

By this ſtep men beheld, all of a ſudden, the reins of government thrown up by the hand which held them, and ſaw none who had any right, or even pretenſions to take poſſeſſion of them. The more effectually to involve every thing in confuſion, the king had thrown the great ſeal into the river, and had recalled all thoſe writs which had been iſſued for the election of the new parliament. The populace were left maſters; they roſe in a tumult, and deſtroyed all the maſs houſes. They alſo treated Jefferies, whom they diſcovered in diſguiſe, ſo ſeverely that he died a little after.

Feverſham, informed of the king's flight, diſbanded his troops; and the univerſal terror which theſe ſteps occaſioned, rendered the approach of the Prince of Orange to the capital ſtill more grateful. Yet one unexpected difficulty remained for William to ſurmount: James, as he was making his eſcape, had been ſtopped at Rocheſter; thence he was conveyed by the gentry to London; where the populace, moved by compaſſion, and actuated by their own levity, received him with ſhouts and acclamations.

Though

Though little attention was paid to him by the nobility on his return to Whitehall, yet his preſence embarraſſed William; who, to awaken again his fears, not only diſplaced the Engliſh guards at the palace, but ſent a meſſage at midnight to the king, ordering him to depart for Ham, a ſeat of the ducheſs of Lauderdale's. He deſired permiſſion, which was eaſily granted, of retiring to Rocheſter, a town near the ſea-coaſt. It was perceived, that the artifice had taken effect; and that the king, terrified with this harſh treatment, had renewed his former reſolution of leaving the kingdom.

He lingered, however, ſome days at Rocheſter, in hopes of an invitation ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of the throne; but, obſerving that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, he ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him; and he arrived ſafely at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, whence he haſtened to St. Germain's. Lewis received him with the higheſt generoſity; a circumſtance, which more than his moſt ſignal victories, contributes to the honour of that great monarch.

Thus ended the reign of a prince, whom, if we conſider his perſonal character rather than his public conduct, we may ſafely pronounce more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of thoſe qualities which form a good citizen: even ſome of thoſe which, had they not been ſwallowed up in bigotry and arbitrary principles, ſerve to compoſe a good ſovereign. In domeſtic life his conduct was irreproachable, and is entitled to our approbation. Severe, but open in his enmities, ſteady in his counſels, diligent in his ſchemes, brave in his enterpriſes, faithful, ſincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men: ſuch was the character with which the duke of York mounted the throne of England. In that high ſtation, his frugality of public money was remarkable, his induſtry exemplary, his application to

naval affairs ſucceſsful, his encouragement of trade judicious, his jealouſy of national honour laudable: what then was wanting to make him an excellent ſovereign? A due regard and affection to the religion and conſtitution of his country. Had he been poſſeſſed of this eſſential quality, even his middling talents, aided by ſo many virtues, would have rendered his reign honourable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency, which he poſſeſſed, became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

The ſincerity of this prince (a virtue on whom he highly valued himſelf) has been much queſtioned in thoſe reiterated promiſes which he had made of preſerving the liberties and religion of the nation. It muſt be confeſſed, that his reign was almoſt one continued invaſion of both; yet it is known, that, to his laſt breath, he perſiſted in aſſerting, that he never meant to ſubvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privileges to his catholic ſubjects. This queſtion can only affect the perſonal character of the king, not our judgment of his public conduct. Though by a ſtretch of candour we ſhould admit of his ſincerity in theſe profeſſions, the people were equally juſtifiable in their reſiſtance of him. So lofty was the idea which he had entertained of his *legal* authority, that it left his ſubjects little or no right to liberty, but what was dependent on his ſovereign will and pleaſure. And ſuch was his zeal for proſelytiſm, that whatever he might at firſt have intended, he plainly ſtopped not at toleration and equality: he confined all power, encouragement, and favour, to the catholics: converts from intereſt would ſoon have multiplied upon him: if not the greater, at leaſt the better part of the people, he would have flattered himſelf, was brought over to his religion: and he would in a little time have thought it juſt, as well as pious, to beſtow on them all the public eſtabliſhments. Rigours and perſecutions againſt heretics would ſpeedily have followed; and thus liberty and the proteſtant

religion

religion would in the iſſue have been totally ſubverted; though we ſhould not ſuppoſe that James, in the commencement of his reign, had formally fixed a plan for that purpoſe. And, on the whole, allowing this king to have poſſeſſed good qualities and good intentions, his conduct ſerves only, on that very account, as a ſtronger proof, how dangerous it is to permit any prince, infected with the catholic ſuperſtition, to wear the crown of theſe kingdoms.

After this manner the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange effected the deliverance of this iſland; and with very little effuſion of blood, ſince only one officer of the Dutch army, and a few private ſoldiers fell in an accidental ſkirmiſh. The more difficult taſk remained of obtaining for himſelf the crown, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. To claim it by right of conqueſt, would have been deſtructive of the principles of liberty; and his good ſenſe determined him to leave it entirely to the guidance and direction of the nation. All the members who had ſitten in the houſe of commons during any parliament in Charles the Second, were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. Theſe were regarded as the proper repreſentatives of the people; they unanimouſly concurred with the lords in addreſſing William to ſummon a convention; the prince thus ſupported, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, and his orders were univerſally complied with. His conduct with regard to Scotland was formed on the ſame moderate maxims; and the convention aſſembled there, paſſed a bold and deciſive vote, that king James, by his mal-adminiſtration, and his abuſe of power, had *forfeited* all title to the crown; and made a tender of the royal dignity to the prince and princeſs of Orange.

A. D. 1689. The Engliſh convention was alſo aſſembled; it was ſoon apparent, that the whig party prevailed; and the commons ſent up a vote to the peers for their concurrence, which contained theſe words: "That king James II. "having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of "the kingdom, by breaking the original contract "between king and people; and having, by the "advice of jeſuits, and other wicked perſons, vio-"lated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf "out of the kingdom, has abdicated the govern-"ment, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper houſe, met with great oppoſition, of which it is here neceſſary for us to explain the cauſe.

Though the tories, and the high church party, menaced with a ſubverſion of the laws and their religion, had zealouſly promoted the national revolt, no ſooner was the danger paſſed, than they returned to their prejudices of nonreſiſtance. Though generally determined to oppoſe the king's return, they reſolved not to conſent to dethroning him, or altering the line of ſucceſſion. A regent with kingly power was the expedient which they propoſed; and a late inſtance in Portugal ſeemed to give ſome authority and precedent to that plan of government.

In favour of this ſcheme the tories urged, that the title to the crown was ever regarded by the Engliſh laws as ſacred. That where the ſovereign from his tender years, or from any natural infirmity, was incapaciated to hold the reins of government, both laws and practice agreed in appointing a regent. That the prejudices of James had rendered him unfit to hold the Engliſh ſceptre, and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourſe to ſome remedy. That the appointment of a regent was indeed expoſed to many inconveniencies; but ſo long as the line of ſucceſſion was preſerved entire, there was ſtill a proſpect of putting an end to the public diſorders.

The

The leaders of the whig party aſſerted, that the ſame ills would reſult from eſtabliſhing a regent, as from dethroning a king, and appointing his ſucceſſor. That if the laws gave no expreſs permiſſion to depoſe the ſovereign, neither did they authoriſe a reſiſting his will, or ſeparating the power from the title. That allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; he would be educated in principles deſtructive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and he would probably leave a ſon, liable to the ſame inſuperable objection. That if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for, while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title.

This queſtion was agitated with great zeal by the oppoſite parties in the houſe of peers. The chief ſpeakers among the tories were Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Nottingham; among the whigs, Haliſax and Danby. The queſtion was carried for a king by two voices only, fifty-one againſt forty-nine. All the prelates, except two, the biſhop of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent. The primate, a diſintereſted but puſillanimous man, kept at a diſtance, both from the prince's court and from parliament.

The houſe of peers proceeded next to examine piecemeal the vote ſent up to them by the commons. They debated, "Whether there were an "original contract between king and people?" and the affirmative was carried by fifty-three againſt forty-ſix; a proof that the tories were already loſing ground. The next queſtion was, "Whether king "James had broken that original contract?" and, after a ſlight oppoſition, the affirmative prevailed. The lords proceeded to take into conſideration the word *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deſerted* was more proper. The concluding queſtion was, "Whe-"ther king James, having broken the original con-"tract, and *deſerted* the government, the throne was "thereby vacant?" This queſtion was debated

with more heat and contention than any of the former; and, upon a diviſion, the tories prevailed by eleven voices, and it was carried to omit the laſt article, with regard to the vacancy of the throne. The vote was ſent back to the commons with theſe amendments.

The earl of Danby had entertained the project of beſtowing the crown ſolely upon the princeſs of Orange, and of admitting her as hereditary legal ſucceſſor to king James; paſſing by the infant prince, as illegitimate or ſuppoſititious. His change of party in the laſt queſtion gave the tories ſo conſiderable a majority in the number of voices.

The commons ſtill inſiſted on their own vote; and after a long controverſy, which took place in a free conference between the two houſes, both ſides parted without coming to any agreement.

But it was impoſſible for the public to remain long in the preſent ſituation. The perſeverance, therefore, of the lower houſe obliged the lords to comply; and, by the deſertion of ſome peers to the whig party, the vote of the commons, without any alteration, paſſed by a majority of fifteen in the upper houſe, and received the ſanction of every part of the legiſlature which then ſubſiſted.

During theſe debates, the prince had kept himſelf in a total ſilence; he at length, however, deſigned to expreſs his ſentiments, though in a private manner, on the preſent ſituation of affairs. He called together, Halifax, Shrewſbury, Danby, and a few more; and plainly told them, that though he pretended not to interpoſe in their deliberations, yet as he underſtood that ſome inſiſted on a regent, and that others were deſirous of beſtowing the crown on the princeſs, he thought it incumbent to inform them, that he was determined not to be the regent, nor would he, though he had a deep ſenſe of the princeſs's merit, accept a crown which muſt depend on the will or the life of another; and therefore if they were inclined to either of theſe two plans, that it would

would be totally out of his power to give them any farther aſſiſtance.

The moderation of the princeſs ſeconded the views of the prince. When Danby, and others of her partizans, wrote her an account of their ſchemes and proceedings, ſhe expreſſed great diſpleaſure. The princeſs Anne alſo concurred in the ſame plan for the public ſettlement; and being promiſed an ample revenue, was content to be poſtponed in the ſucceſſion to the crown. The chief parties, therefore, being agreed, the convention paſſed a bill, they ſettled the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, the ſole adminiſtration to remain in the prince: the princeſs of Denmark to ſucceed after the death of the prince and princeſs of Orange; her poſterity after thoſe of the princeſs, but before thoſe of the prince by any other wife. The convention annexed to this ſettlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had, of late years been diſputed between the king and people, were finally determined, and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumſcribed and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the Engliſh government.

Thus, through the courſe of four reigns, we have ſeen a continual ſtruggle maintained between the crown and people; and the conteſts that were kindled, called forth the qualities of activity, courage, and invention, which are apt to ſlumber under too uniform a government; yet, it muſt be confeſſed, that the fluctuation during theſe reigns among the Engliſh, was much too violent both for the repoſe and ſafety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or managed to pernicious purpoſes: and in the domeſtic adminiſtration there was felt a continued fever, either ſecret or manifeſt; ſometimes the moſt furious convulſions and diſorders. The revolution forms a new epoch in the conſtitution; and was probably attended with conſequences more advantageous to the people, than

barely freeing them from an exceptionable adminiſtration. By deciding many important queſtions in favour of liberty, and ſtill more, by that great precedent of depoſing one king, and eſtabliſhing a new family, it gave ſuch an aſcendant to popular principles, as has put the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution beyond all controverſy. And it may juſtly be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that we, in this iſland, have ever ſince enjoyed, if not the beſt ſyſtem of government, at leaſt the moſt entire ſyſtem of liberty, that ever was known amongſt mankind.

The events which have led to that ſyſtem have been extremely obſcured by the repreſentations of faction. Thoſe to whom we are moſt indebted for it, have been obliged to court the favour of the populace, and adopt thoſe tribunitian acts, which though ſometimes uſeful in a free conſtitution, have uſually been ſuch as men of probity and honour, could not bring themſelves to practice or approve. For a courſe of near ſeventy years the whig party, has, almoſt, without interruption, enjoyed the whole authority of government; and no honours or offices could be obtained but by their countenance and protection. But this event, which, in ſome particulars, has been advantageous to the ſtate, has proved deſtructive to the truth of hiſtory, and has eſtabliſhed many groſs falſehoods, which it is unaccountrble how any civilized nation could have embraced with regard to its domeſtic occurrences. Compoſitions the moſt deſpicable, both for ſtyle and matter, have been extolled, and propagated, and read, as if they had equalled the moſt celebrated remains of antiquity. And forgetting that a regard to liberty, though a laudable paſſion, ought commonly to be ſubordinate to a reverence for eſtabliſhed government, the prevailing faction has celebrated only the partiſans of the former, who purſued as their object the perfection of civil ſociety, and has extolled them at the expence of their antagoniſts, who maintained thoſe maxims that are eſſential to its very exiſtence. But extremes

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of all kinds are to be avoided; and though no one will ever pleaſe either faction by moderate opinions, it is there we are moſt likely to meet with truth and certainty.

We ſhall ſubjoin to this general view of the Engliſh government, ſome account of the ſtate of the finances, arms, trade, manners, and arts, between the reſtoration and revolution.

The ordinary revenue of Charles the Second, during his whole reign, may be eſtimated at 1,200,000l. a-year. The convention parliament, after all the ſums which they had granted the king towards the payment of old debts, threw, the laſt day of their meeting, a debt upon him amounting to one million ſeven hundred forty-three thouſand two hundred ſixty-three pounds. All the extraordinary ſums which were afterwards voted him by parliament, amounted to eleven millions four hundred forty-three thouſand four hundred and ſeven pounds; which, divided by twenty-four, the number of years which that king reigned, make four hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and eight pounds a-year. During that time, he had two violent wars to ſuſtain with the Dutch; and in 1678, he made expenſive preparations for a war with France. In the firſt Dutch war, both France and Denmark were allies to the United Provinces, and the naval armaments in England were very great: ſo that it is impoſſible he could have ſecreted any part, at leaſt any conſiderable part, of the ſums which were then voted him by parliament.

To theſe ſums we muſt add about one million two hundred thouſand pounds, which had been detained from the bankers on ſhutting up the Exchequer in 1672. The king payed ſix per cent. for this money during the reſt of his reign. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding this violent breach of faith, the king, two years after, borrowed money at at eight per cent.; the ſame rate of intereſt which he had payed before that event. A proof that pub-

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lic credit, inſtead of being of ſo delicate a nature as we are apt to imagine, is, in reality, ſo hardy and robuſt, that it is very difficult to deſtroy it.

The revenue of James was raiſed by the parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and his income, as duke of York, being added, made the whole amount to two millionsa-year; a ſum well proportioned to the public neceſſities, but enjoyed by him in too independent a manner. The national debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thouſand nine hundred twenty-five pounds.

The militia fell much to decay during theſe two reigns, partly by the policy of the kings, who had entertained a diffidence of their ſubjects, partly by that ill-judged law which limited the king's power of muſtering and arraying them. In the beginning, however, of Charles's reign, the militia was ſtill deemed formidable. De Wit having propoſed to the French king an invaſion of England during the firſt Dutch war, that monarch replied, that ſuch an attempt would be entirely fruitleſs, and would tend only to unite the Engliſh. In a few days, ſaid he, after our landing, there will be fifty thouſand men at leaſt upon us.

Charles, in the beginning of his reign, had in pay near five thouſand men, of guards and garriſons. At the end of his reign he augmented this number to near eight thouſand. James, on Monmouth's rebellion, had on foot about fifteen thouſand men; and when the prince of Orange invaded him, there were no fewer than thirty thouſand regular troops in England.

The Engliſh navy, during the greater part of Charles's reign, made a conſiderable figure, for number of ſhips, valour of the men, and conduct of the commanders. Even in 1678, the fleet conſiſted of eighty-three ſhips; beſides thirty, which were at that time on the ſtocks. On the king's reſtoration he found only ſixty-three veſſels of all ſizes. During the

the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell ſomewhat to decay, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the king's revenue: but James, ſoon after his acceſſion, reſtored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The adminiſtration of the admiralty under Pepys, is ſtill regarded as a model for order and œconomy. The fleet at the revolution conſiſted of one hundred ſeventy-three veſſels of all ſizes; and required forty-two thouſand ſeamen to man it. That king, when duke of York, had been the firſt inventor of ſea-ſignals.

The commerce and riches of England during this period, alſo rapidly increaſed. The recovery or conqueſt of New-York and the Jerſeys was a conſiderable acceſſion to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies; and, together with the ſettlement of Pennſylvania and Carolina, which was effected during that reign, extended the Engliſh empire in America. The perſecutions of the diſſenters, or, more properly ſpeaking, the reſtraints impoſed upon them, contributed to augment and people theſe colonies. Dr. Davenant affirms, that the ſhipping of England was more than doubled during theſe twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were eſtabliſhed; in iron, braſs, ſilk, hats, glaſs, paper, &c.

We learn from ſir Joſiah Child, that in 1688 there were on the Change more men worth 10,000 pounds than there were in 1650 worth a thouſand; that 500 pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than 2000 in the former; that gentlewomen, in thoſe earlier times, thought themſelves well clothed in a ſerge gown, which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be aſhamed to be ſeen in; and that, beſides the great increaſe of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and houſehold furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundred fold.

The duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glaſs and cryſtal into England. Prince Rupert was alſo an encourager of

uſeful arts and manufactures: he himſelf was the inventor of etching.

The firſt law for erecting turnpikes was paſſed in 1662: the places of the turnpikes were Wadeſmill, Caxton, and Stilton: but the general and great improvement of highways took not place till the reign of George II.

In 1663, was paſſed the firſt law for allowing the exportation of foreign coin and bullion.

Lord Clarendon tells us, that, in 1665, when money, in conſequence of a treaty, was to be remitted to the biſhop of Munſter, it was found, that the whole trade of England could not ſupply above 1000 pounds a-month to Frankfort and Cologne, nor above 20,000 pounds a-month to Hamburgh: theſe ſums appear ſurpriſingly ſmall.

Till the revolution, the liberty of the preſs was imperfectly enjoyed in England; yet, amidſt the cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overſpread the nation, during the commonwealth and protectorſhip, there were a few ſedate philoſophers, who, in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwel's ſiſter, and was afterwards biſhop of Cheſter, promoted theſe philoſophical converſations. Immediately after the reſtoration, theſe men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. Beſides, Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians, Hooke, an accurate obſerver by microſcopes, and Sydenham, the reſtorer of true phyſic; there flouriſhed during this period a Boyle and a Newton; men who trod with cautious, and therefore the more ſecure ſteps, the only road which leads to true philoſophy.

Boyle improved the pneumatic engine invented by old Otto Guericke, and was thereby enabled to make ſeveral new and curious experiments on the air, as well as on other bodies: his chemiſtry is

much admired by thoſe who are acquainted with that art: his hydroſtatics contain a greater mixture of reaſoning and invention with experiment than any other of his works; but his reaſoning is ſtill remote from that boldneſs and temerity which had led aſtray of many philoſophers. Boyle was a great partiſan of the mechanical philoſophy; a theory which, by diſcovering ſome of the ſecrets of nature, and allowing us to imagine the reſt, is ſo agreeable to the natural vanity and curioſity of men. He died in 1691, aged 65.

In Newton this iſland may boaſt of having produced the greateſt and rareſt genius that ever roſe for the ornament and inſtruction of the ſpecies. Cautious in admitting no principles but ſuch as were founded on experiment; but reſolute to adopt every ſuch principle, however new or unuſual: from modeſty, ignorant of his ſuperiority above the reſt of mankind; and thence, leſs careful to accommodate his reaſonings to common apprehenſions: more anxious to merit than acquire fame: he was, from theſe cauſes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation at laſt broke out with a luſtre, which ſcarcely any writer, during his own life-time, had ever before attained. While Newton ſeemed to draw off the veil from ſome of the myſteries of nature, he ſhewed at the ſame time the imperfections of the mechanical philoſophy; and thereby reſtored her ultimate ſecrets to that obſcurity in which they ever did and ever will remain. He died in 1727, aged 85.

Moſt of the celebrated writers of this age, remain monuments of genius perverted by indecency; even Dryden groſly abuſed his ſuperior talents; the very name of Rocheſter is offenſive to modeſt ears; and though Wycherly attained to the reputation of wit, it was blended too intimately with libertiniſm. Of all the eminent authors of this age, ſir William Temple is almoſt the only one that kept himſelf altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs, which overwhelmed the nation.

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The Hudibras of Butler, exceeds all other compoſitions in ſtrokes of juſt and inimitable wit; and, it is ſurpriſing, how much erudition he has introduced with ſo good a grace into a work of pleaſantry and humour. It is, perhaps, one of the moſt learned productions that was ever publiſhed in any language. The king himſelf was ſo highly pleaſed with it, that he got a great part of it by heart; yet, was he either ſo careleſs in his temper, or ſo little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or, more properly ſpeaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, a man of virtue and probity, to live in obſcurity, and die in want. Dryden is an inſtance of a negligence of the ſame kind. His Abſalom ſenſibly contributed to the victory which the tories obtained over the whigs, after the excluſion of parliaments: yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him an eſtabliſhment which might exempt him from the neceſſity of writing for bread. Otway, though a profeſſed royaliſt, could not procure bread by his writings; and he had the ſingular fate of dying literally of hunger. Theſe incidents throw a great ſtain on the memory of Charles, who had diſcernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praiſe of true generoſity.

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